

THE ART BULLETIN

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DECEMBER 1955
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NUMBER FOUR

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CHARLES RUFUS MOREY, 1877-1955

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY, Professor Emeritus of Art and Archaeology at Princeton and one of the founders and strongest supporters for many years of the College Art Association of America, died in Princeton on August 28, 1955. He had a long and remarkable career. Internationally known and honored as the most eminent American historian of Early Christian and mediaeval art, he was also an administrator and organizer of far-reaching imagination, developing the Department at Princeton into one of the most distinguished in the country and playing the protagonist in scholarly and archaeological enterprises of international scope and fame. When he retired from Princeton, long experience and high reputation in Italy led to his appointment as Cultural Attaché at the American Embassy in Rome, a post which he held with distinction and in which he continued to render invaluable service to scholarship. Throughout his career, in whatever he undertook, he was inventive, bold, and magnanimous. And because of his example, his energy, and his creative vision, he did more to establish the history of art as a serious humanistic study in American colleges and universities than any scholar and teacher of his generation.

He was born at Hastings, Michigan, on November 20, 1877, graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan in 1899, and took an M.A. degree in Classics the following year. A three-year fellowship at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome enabled him to gain that fundamental knowledge of Late Antique and Early Christian art on which he was later to build the imposing edifice of his own research and writing. After a year as an instructor in Classics at Princeton, in 1906, at the request of Allan Marquand, the distinguished founder and benefactor of the Princeton Department who was later to add Frank J. Mather, Jr., to his staff, he transferred to Art and Archaeology. He was a member of the Princeton faculty for thirty-nine years, becoming Professor in 1918 and in 1925 Chairman of the Department, a position in which he grew famous through his energetic devotion to the advancement of the Department, his distinguished scholarship, and his powerful influence on the growth of the history of art in America.

Morey's first publication, *The Christian Sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua*, appearing in the papers of the American School in Rome in 1905, was followed during the next forty years by a stream of articles, reviews, and books dealing chiefly with Early Christian and mediaeval art, but occasionally, in forceful and eloquent essays in criticism, with subjects as far removed in time from his own field as modern art or the academic point of view in Renaissance and later art. THE ART BULLETIN for December 1950, published in his honor and containing articles on mediaeval art by his former students, concluded with a bibliography of his writings, sixty-three in number exclusive of minor notes and reviews, and culminating in two major books, *Early Christian Art* and *Mediaeval Art*, the crown and summation of many years of research and teaching. Throughout this long period Morey frequently contributed articles and reviews to THE ART BULLETIN, and during its early and adolescent days before it had grown to the position of distinction it was later to hold among learned journals, his articles—notable among them his ground-breaking *Sources of Mediaeval Style* (1924)—were a kind of Platonic model of resourceful investigation and masterly synthesis, maintaining a high and constant standard of rich content and well-tempered scholarly prose.

Morey's support of THE ART BULLETIN, by his articles, by the money he got to sustain it, and by his presence on the editorial board from 1922 to 1939 and again during 1943 and 1944, was his greatest service to the College Art Association. But it should be noted as well that he was a director of the Association for a great many years and was at one time its Treasurer, at another its Vice-President. And if one delves into the Association's archives, scanning the minutes of past years, or consults his colleagues of earlier days, one will find Morey at all points the aggressive

champion of the history of art, the imaginative instigator of research enterprise, and the resourceful and accomplished statesman in matters of finance.

At Princeton, on the secure foundations laid by Allan Marquand, he built a great Department. During the twenty years before he became Chairman, he had gained a high reputation as a mediaevalist and attracted a following of brilliant younger men. He had a strong hand in training most of the members of his staff, many of them now distinguished mediaevalists who were at first inspired by his teaching and later struck out along original lines for themselves. In his exigent and respected undergraduate course in mediaeval art and, *a fortiori*, in his graduate seminar, his tremendous standards, his learning, his mental power, and the fact that he worked longer hours than any of them, at first alarmed his students, but soon filled them with a desire to emulate his example of personal integrity, hard work, and sound scholarship. They went out from his rigorous but kindly training—kindly, provided they acquitted themselves well—carrying abroad something of Morey in themselves. Occupying positions of prominence in universities, colleges, and museums, in their teaching, in their writing, and in their handling of the problems of the profession, they were mindful of his shining and invigorating influence. They were, in a sense, his trained ambassadors, who were effective in accrediting the history of art as a serious study at the sometimes conservative courts of the older-established humanists. The mediaevalists among them often developed in their own research ideas that Morey had generously given them. Thus the list of his own publications, imposing though it be, is insufficient. One must also take into account, in estimating his importance as a scholar, the fructifying influence of his ideas on other minds.

Morey was an aggressive raiser of money to support the scholarly activities of the Department at Princeton. He was instrumental in securing substantial funds that were allocated to endow, among other things, the Marquand Library and a distinguished program of publication (witness the steady continuation of the Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, earlier supported by Marquand, and the growing series of Studies in Manuscript Illumination). He also raised money for the Princeton Index of Christian Art, still in process of compilation, a photographic record with iconographical descriptions and bibliography of every example of Christian art down to the year 1400. For many years he was the moving spirit in this enterprise which was very close to his heart, conferring regularly with his devoted staff (at one time nine well-trained young women were known as the nine Muses), spending several hours each week verifying descriptions and references, and supervising procedure and policy. Copies of the Index, which has been a valuable source of information to mediaevalists in many countries, are now in the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome and at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. Another distinguished corporate enterprise that he directed as editor was the publication of a series of scholarly catalogues of objects in the *Museo Sacro* of the Vatican, contributing himself the volume on ivory and bone objects. In selecting Morey as editor the learned men of the Vatican paid splendid tribute to his international reputation as an authority on Early Christian and mediaeval art. And the students in his graduate seminar benefited in a special way from his editorship, for they wrote articles generally on unpublished objects that he assigned to them, contributing by special studies of their own to the information that was later to appear in the catalogues. Thus they learned scholarly method in a direct and constructive way, their steps, halting at first, becoming more confident as they profited more and more by his exacting supervision and enormous knowledge. Almost to the time of his death Morey was working on the catalogue of gold-glass in the *Museo Sacro*.

At Princeton, Morey's creative thought and administrative prowess were not confined to his own Department. One of his colleagues has recently written that he was a "dynamic, challenging, and constructive force in the affairs of the University." Characteristic of the inventive energy of his mind was his carefully worked out plan for a "Laboratory-Library" at Princeton, which he

published in 1932 at a time when the old University Library was outmoded and was struggling to meet the heavy demands made upon it. In the new library which he envisaged, faculty offices, seminars, and undergraduate and graduate study rooms for each department of the Humanities and Social Sciences would be closely grouped together with quick and easy access to adjacent stacks housing the departmental library and the libraries of related departments. This bringing together of scholars of varying degrees of maturity with their books, already successfully accomplished in the case of the Department of Art and Archaeology, which was entirely housed in its own building, McCormick Hall, would, he argued, strengthen both graduate and undergraduate work in the "reading departments," whose books should be as easily accessible to them as laboratory apparatus is to the scientific departments. Morey's ingenious and far-sighted plan was the seed from which the new Firestone Library at Princeton ultimately grew, incorporating in its fabric his essential idea of "putting the students of the reading departments—the bulk of the Princeton upperclassmen—and the faculty and graduate students of these departments, in adequate touch with their books and with each other."

In the case of another Princeton institution, his altruism and objectivity were to have an important effect on humanistic studies in America. The Institute for Advanced Study, founded in 1930, had on its original faculty a distinguished group of mathematicians and theoretical physicists. When, four years later, the time came to expand its activities, Morey was largely responsible for the appointment of a number of eminent humanists, including historians of eastern as well as western art. The historians of art were German scholars of great distinction, a part of that group of remarkable exiles—in his own words, "backhanded gifts of Hitler to America"—who have "enriched and deepened American scholarship in our field."

In the midst of his multitudinous activities of the thirties he launched another large-scale enterprise that captivated the minds of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic and resulted in important additions to our knowledge of the period that had early caught his imagination: the first centuries of our era when Late Antique art under influences from the East was gradually being transformed into an art that would incorporate the supernatural content of Christianity. This was the excavation of Antioch and its rich suburb Daphne, the committee for which he organized and for seven years directed, closely supervising several volumes of its publications and, as was characteristic of him in such corporate undertakings, writing one himself. The Musées Nationaux de France, the Worcester Art Museum, the Baltimore Museum of Art, and Dumbarton Oaks shared with Princeton an enterprise that, most spectacularly in a wonderful series of mosaic pavements, has revealed the progressive dissolution and orientalization of the Late Antique style.

When Morey became Cultural Attaché in Rome in 1945 his reputation as a scholar and distinguished American was at its height, and it was not to diminish. His name was revered in Rome not only at the Vatican where he was *persona grata* in a very special sense, but in other influential circles as well. As Cultural Attaché he stuck to a few major activities that he considered of prime importance, avoiding, where he could, peripheral and evanescent projects. He worked hard to establish and maintain American libraries in Italy as a sound means of increasing the knowledge of Americans among Italians. He was instrumental in helping Italian universities to replenish their staffs after the overthrow of Fascism. He was tremendously interested in the cultural exchange of persons, and it was largely through his efforts that the Fulbright Act, already operative in other countries, became valid in Italy. Thus, in working for the cause of international understanding, he was also rendering notable service to scholarship. Twenty years before he had been Professor of Classical Studies at the American School in Rome. It was therefore all the more appropriate that during the transition from war to peace, 1945-1947, he should serve as Acting Director of the American Academy. But his administrative talents were not confined to American institutions alone, for he became the first president of the newly created Union of Archaeological

and Historical Institutes which was created to receive and take charge of the contents of the German libraries when they should be returned to Italy from beyond the Alps. Among them, no doubt, were books that Morey had used at the beginning of the century in preparing for what was to be a great university career. Thus, after the vicissitudes and perturbations of war it was his fortune to replace in their proper homes, for use by future generations, the displaced instruments of scholarship. To the pursuit of truth to which libraries minister he had dedicated his life.

His great stature as a scholar and as a force in academic and cultural affairs was widely recognized, and he received many honors. In America he was a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an honorary fellow of the Pierpont Morgan Library, an honorary director of the College Art Association, and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He received honorary degrees from Oberlin, Michigan, Chicago, New York University, Yale, and Princeton. In Italy he was a member of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology whose meetings in Rome he attended whenever he could, of the Accademia dei Lincei and the Virtuosi del Pantheon; he received the silver medal of the Dante Alighieri Society of Italy, the Stella d'Oro of Italy, and the Silver Cross of the Vatican. In Belgium and France he was honored as well.

Rufus Morey was a man of strong physique with a magnetic eye and a quiet but determined manner of speaking. He had a compelling personality and a steadfast character, and where questions of value entered in, he could be uncompromising. Being uncommonly learned in antique and mediaeval culture, his point of view towards modern life and art was shaped by his admiration for both the humanistic and transcendental values that he found in European thought before the Renaissance. The antique and the mediaeval combined to provide the secure criteria of his criticism. He was not only their historian, but he believed in their normative values. Some of the most interesting passages in his writings, though little known or heeded, are those in which, as a confessed mediaevalist, he surveys the development of Renaissance and Baroque art, his interpretation adding a particular illumination and a deepened perspective (for instance, the final chapter in his *Christian Art*) or in which he diagnoses the character of modern art as expressive of modern life ("A Mediaevalist Looks at Modern Art," *Arti figurative*, Anno II, 1946). In the latter case, in concluding paragraphs of unmistakable force and grandeur, having in mind the cardinal virtues of Plato and the theological virtues of the Christian Middle Ages, he attacks the exaltation in modern life and art of "sensational satisfaction at the expense of disciplined thought and feeling." One may disagree with Morey's view in whole or in part, but one must admire the depth of his conviction and the prophetic accent of his criticism conveyed in remarkable language. As an accomplished humanist of the old school with a deep classical education and a keen sense of the effect of modern scientific influences on the method of humanistic studies, his view of the future of education in this country was not always encouraging. No one who heard him at the Princeton bicentennial celebration after the war deliver his wise and arresting paper, *Scholarship in the Arts: Past and Future*, will forget the tone of the conclusion. It had, as a colleague aptly remarked, something of the grand pessimism of a Cassiodorus. Yet at the very end of this address, in challenging words, thoroughly characteristic of him, he alerted humanists to their responsibility in the future. This valedictory deserves quotation, bearing witness, as it does, to his historic sense, his realistic view of the present state of education, and his faith in his own discipline:

"Our situation today evokes comparison with that of Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries, after a period of barbarian aggression not unlike that which we have recently been through. The parallel does not seem too forced to me; the difference may be one of degree; it may on the other hand be merely a difference of sophistication.

"For groups such as this, and for all humanists, the responsibility is plain; the mission clear. The humanists have the task of the Benedictines in the early Middle Ages: to keep the light of humanistic learning burning

throughout the world until these times can turn from materialistic delusions to enlightened common sense. In this endeavor the art historians should be out in front; they speak the language of art, the only international language the world has ever known, and they are the humanists at large."

Morey's students and friends have a tendency, perhaps, in surveying his life, to think first of the elements of real greatness in his nature, to dwell on virtues and capacities in him that partake of the heroic. But there was another side. For with his quiet humor, his often shrewd but never unkind evaluations of men, and his genuine friendliness, he was lovable and human; and goodness and generosity were essential to his character. He was imaginative about the individual talents of his students, realizing that work which suited one was not adapted to another. And he was unfailingly loyal to them, keeping them always, it seemed, in his mind's eye, responding superbly to their calls for aid or advice, and giving them, as he gave others, generous credit for accomplishment. To them, though some have wandered far from his altar stone of the Middle Ages, and to others who knew him, he will always remain a figure to compel the imagination, the loved and revered *magister artis ingenique largitor*. They mourn his passing, but have the abiding consolation of his luminous example and enduring scholarship.

RENSSELAER W. LEE



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PETERBOROUGH, LINCOLN, AND THE SCIENCE OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE: A STUDY IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY*

FOLKE NORDSTRÖM

THE PAINTED CEILING IN THE NAVE OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL

THE painted ceiling in the nave of Peterborough Cathedral is one of the very few and, for that reason, very important painted wooden ceilings which still remain in Europe from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The main part of the nave was built ca. 1155-1175, the west transept ca. 1177-1193 and the west front ca. 1193-1220.¹ The ceiling must have been constructed and painted before the dedication of the church in 1238. Cave and Borenus date it "about 1220,"² but there are reasons for a somewhat later date. At that time the church was not a cathedral but a Benedictine abbey of great importance. Of about the same time as the painted ceiling are some interesting illuminated manuscripts of Peterborough origin, especially psalters, e.g., the Psalter of Robert de Lindeseye in the Society of Antiquaries, London, and a psalter (Ms 12) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.³ As early as ca. 1155-1175 the choir screen was also decorated with paintings. There were more than one hundred scenes, all of which have been destroyed, but their subjects are known. Some of them are even copied in the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels.⁴ They had apparently a very interesting and elaborate iconographical program.

The wooden ceiling of the nave is divided lengthwise into three compartments, the central one being twice as wide as the sides (Fig. 1). It is not the flat ceiling usual at that time, but the outer compartments slope so that the central part of the ceiling is higher than the south and north walls of the nave. It has been supposed that the ceiling was raised from being a flat ceiling, as in the great

* I wish to thank, most of all, Professor Erwin Panofsky, with whom I had many opportunities to discuss the problems of this article and who encouraged me during its preparation. I also owe The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, and its director, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, very sincere thanks not only for granting me membership for the period in which I wrote this paper but also for a travel grant which enabled me to check the results at Peterborough and Lincoln and to make some studies in London. I wish also to express my sincere gratitude to Miss Kathleen Pain, B.A., Fil. Kand., for the revision of the English of this article, and to Fil. Mag. Carl-Gustav Undhagen for the translation of several of the Latin quotations.

1. H. Felton and J. Harvey, *The English Cathedrals*, London, 1950, p. 84. Cf. T. Craddock, *Peterborough Cathedral*, Peterborough, 1864, pp. 50-57, 132-144 and W. D. Sweeting, *The Cathedral Church of Peterborough*, London, 1898, pp. 16-20.

2. C. J. P. Cave and T. Borenus, "The Painted Ceiling in the Nave of Peterborough Cathedral," *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII, 1937, pp. 297-309. This work hereafter cited as Cave and Borenus.

3. Concerning these psalters see E. G. Millar, *English*

Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century, Paris and Brussels, 1926, pp. 47f.: "We have next to notice two books about the year 1220 which are definitely associated with Peterborough and bring that house at once into the first rank. The first of these is the well-known Psalter of Robert de Lindeseye, abbot of Peterborough from 1214-1222. It is now the chief treasure in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. . . . The thirteenth century style is here seen fully developed and at its greatest perfection, and the MS, owing to the comparative accuracy with which it can be dated, constitutes an important landmark in the history of English illumination." O. Elfrida Saunders, *English Illumination*, 1, Florence, 1928, p. 60, also mentions a third manuscript of about the same date, "a few leaves of a psalter, which are now bound up with the earlier manuscript Vespasian A 1 at the British Museum." Some decades later, we have a psalter now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (England) and the Peterborough Psalter in the Royal Library at Brussels, datable late in the thirteenth century or about 1300. The latter is published in J. van den Gheyn, *Le Psautier de Peterborough*, Haarlem, 1906.

4. M. R. James, "On the Paintings formerly in the Choir at Peterborough," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, IX, 1894-1898, pp. 178-194.

transept, to the present position, but as Cave and Borenius have pointed out, there is no sign of that.⁵ In my opinion, however, the ceiling was originally intended to be a flat one, as in the transept, but before this plan was carried out it was decided to build the present canted ceiling. The general design of the decoration consists of three rows of lozenges, twenty in the central row and nineteen in either side row. Along the sides there are triangles between the points of the lozenges. In each lozenge of the central line there is a painted figure as in each alternate one of the sides (Fig. 4). In each alternate one there are decorated leaves. The middle set has more elongated lozenges than the others. The borders are painted black and white with colored lines in zigzag patterns. W. Strickland gives the following description of the construction: "The construction of the lozenges may be thought worthy of notice, each lozenge forming a distinct panel, and being apparently fixed up separately to the roof with nuts and bolts; it is composed of oakplanking about half an inch thick and nine inches wide. The outer form of the lozenge is first formed with four planks, and filled up with successive layers, the outer edges of each lapping over the preceding plank, until the last addition forms a diamond in the center. Though these elevations exist, they are not perceptible below, the surface appearing quite flat and unbroken to the eye from its great height."⁶ The ceiling in the great transept is similar to that of the nave, but it is flat and without figures, the centers of the diamonds being painted only with foliage.

We know of two late repaintings of the nave ceiling, the first about 1740-1750 and the second 1834-1835.⁷ For that reason we cannot be certain that the figures have not been changed, but there is no evidence that the ceiling has not been repainted so as to preserve the old decorations. It seems most probable that we have the original motifs and compositions, but of course the style and also some details of the motifs have lost much of their authenticity. As Governor Pownall⁸ pointed out, as early as 1788, the man who repainted the ceiling in the middle of the eighteenth century "only retraced the figures, except in one instance, the third or fourth compartment from the West door." From the time before the second repainting we have some drawings and a description of the motifs in the above-mentioned study by Pownall. In 1849 the painter W. Strickland made his "lithographic drawing" of the whole ceiling.⁹

It seems to me most probable that the real date of the construction and painting of the nave ceiling precedes the date of the dedication of the abbey, in 1238, by the great bishop and scientist Robert Grosseteste.¹⁰ The decorative leaves on the ceiling recall those in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs. 3 and 4). The psalter has been dated ca. 1220 by E. G. Millar and 1260-1270 by M. R. James¹¹ and O. Elfrida Saunders.¹² I think that Elfrida Saunders is right in saying that the Lindeseye Psalter of 1220-1222 is the prototype for the Fitzwilliam Psalter, which is thus later, but not as late as she thinks. Altogether, it seems most probable to me that the ceiling was constructed and painted a year or two before the dedication, that is, in 1236-1237.

5. *Op.cit.*, p. 297. Cf. also W. D. Sweeting, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

6. W. Strickland, *Strickland's Lithographic Drawing of the Ancient Painted Ceiling in the Nave of Peterborough Cathedral*, Peterborough and London, 1849, p. 8.

7. Cave and Borenius, pp. 297ff.

8. Pownall, "Observations on Ancient Painting in England. In a letter from Gov. Pownall to the Rev. Michael Lort," *Archaeologia*, IX, 1789, pp. 141ff.

9. W. Strickland, *op.cit.* A copy of this lithograph is placed in the choir of the Cathedral.

10. There are two different dates for the dedication. The *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. J. A. Giles, *Publications of the Caxton Society*, London, 1845, pp. 134f.) says October 4, 1237; Matthew Paris in his *Chronica majora* (III,

ed. H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, No. 57:3, London, 1876, p. 517) says October 4, 1238; and the *Chronicon Petriburgense* (ed. T. Stapleton, *Publications of the Camden Society*, XLVII, London, 1849, p. 14) says 1238. We know from the *Rotuli Grosseteste* (*The Lincoln Record Society*, XI, Horncastle, 1914, p. 13) that the bishop was at Lincoln on October 5, 1237, and it seems to me impossible, in view of the great distance, that he could have been at Peterborough the day before. Thus October 4, 1238, is more probable as the date of the dedication.

11. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*. With introduction and indices by M. R. James, Cambridge, 1895, p. 22.

12. O. Elfrida Saunders, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

THE ICONOGRAPHICAL PROGRAM OF THE PETERBOROUGH CEILING

Beginning at the east end of the ceiling there are, as the first scene in the central row of panels, four lions "passant, facing each other in pairs,"¹³ and between them a fish. It has been thought that this picture is a coat-of-arms,¹⁴ but it may better be interpreted in accordance with the whole program of the ceiling. The fish is often a symbol of water,¹⁵ and the lions—as four-footed animals—can signify the earth. The four lions thus represent the four cardinal points of the earth. We can compare this scene with a similar one, a representation of the zodiac in a thirteenth century manuscript,¹⁶ where the round world is divided into water and earth, and four heads of lions serve as symbols of the four cardinal points.

SUMMARY OF THE SCENES IN THE PETERBOROUGH CEILING

1. <i>Mask</i>	1. <i>Space</i>	1. <i>Mask</i>
	2. <i>Time</i>	
3. <i>Dragon</i>	3. <i>Devil</i>	3. <i>Monster</i>
	4. <i>Agnus Dei</i>	
5. <i>Harp-playing ass</i>	5. <i>St. Peter</i>	5. <i>Woman playing fiddle</i>
	6. <i>Goat-riding ape</i>	
7. <i>Fig. playing organistrum</i>	7. <i>St. Paul</i>	7. <i>Fig. playing psaltery</i>
	8. <i>King of the wise</i>	
9. <i>Fig. playing fiddle</i>	9. <i>Archbishop</i>	9. <i>Angel with cornet</i>
	10. <i>King</i>	
11. <i>Rhetorica</i>	11. <i>Archbishop</i>	11. <i>Grammatica</i>
	12. <i>King</i>	
13. <i>Logica or Dialectica</i>	13. <i>Bishop</i>	13. <i>Musica</i>
	14. <i>King</i>	
15. <i>Arithmetica</i>	15. <i>Bishop</i>	15. <i>Geometrica</i>
	16. <i>King</i>	
17. <i>Sun</i>	17. <i>Bishop</i>	17. <i>Astronomia</i>
	18. <i>King</i>	
19. <i>Season</i>	19. <i>Eagle</i>	19. <i>Lion</i>
	20. <i>Moon</i>	

13. Cave and Borenius, p. 299.

14. W. Strickland, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

15. Cf. e.g. the representation of Aqua, sitting on a fish and holding another fish in her hand, on the "Vortragskreuz von Engelberg" ca. 1200. Ellen J. Beer, *Die Rose der Kathedrale von Lausanne und der kosmologische Bilderkreis des Mittelalters* (Berner Schriften zur Kunst, VI, Bern, Benteli, 1952,

pp. 21ff. Another example is found in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. See H. Yates Thompson, *Illustration of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Yates Thompson*, VII, London, 1918, pl. LXVI.

16. *Ymage du monde*, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, Paris, MS 2200, fol. 119r. Ill. in Beer, *op.cit.*, fig. 49.

In the side rows, on either side of this scene, there are two masks—one on the north and the other on the south. From a head of an animal there grow branches with leaves. Sometimes such foliated heads signify the tree of life,¹⁷ but here they may refer to two of the four rivers of paradise,¹⁸ and, therefore, to two of the cardinal points. Since four of these are already indicated in the central portion, we arrive at six dimensions. And this is a good Aristotelian doctrine. Grosseteste himself says, after Aristotle, that there are six directions of space or three pairs of directions, above and below, right and left, before and behind.¹⁹ Thus the whole scene may be a symbol of *the six dimensions of space*.

Such masks are often found in each corner of a square. Very early the number symbolism of four is applied to the cherubim, the four winds, the cardinal virtues, the evangelists, the four rivers of paradise and the four major prophets, the four elements, the four temperaments, and the four seasons.²⁰ Here in the corners of this ceiling there are only two masks—in the northeast and the southeast corners—but in its other, western, corners there are a lion and a figure holding a branch. Now, the lion can stand for one of the elements (fire), the cardinal virtues (fortitude), the seasons (summer), the temperaments (the choleric), or the evangelists (Mark), and "a figure holding sprays of foliage with flowers" for one of the four seasons. Thus we find in all the corners of the ceiling representations of one of these groups of four.

Next in the middle series is the head of Janus, one face looking forward and the other backward, representing the future and the past. Prudence is often shown with two or three faces, two profiles often being supplemented with a front view, representing the future, the present and the past.²¹ Janus with the two heads very often symbolizes the month of January, one head looking backward on the past year and the other one forward to the new year.²² If the first scene of the ceiling is a representation of *space*, this scene represents *time*.

The third picture in the middle row shows us a frightful beast with long, pointed ears, big jaws, and impressive tail, the hind legs of a buck but the arms and hands of a human being. It seems to be the Devil. In one hand he holds a hammer, perhaps a reference to the pagan god Hephaestus. In the other, he holds a banner with a swastika, also a pagan symbol.²³ Cave and Borenius say that the figure "may typify death, and would thus be contrasted with the next painting of the Lamb which typifies the Resurrection."²⁴ Undoubtedly the authors are right in considering these two representations to be contrasts. But the problem is that the swastika is also a symbol of life²⁵—though a heathen one. So the Devil with the hammer and swastika symbolizes the heathen god and thus, of course, everlasting death.

On the left of the Devil and of the *Agnus Dei* there is another symbol of the Devil—the dragon.

17. Max Wegener, "Blattmasken," *Festschrift Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 15 Januar 1933*, Berlin, 1935, p. 43.

18. R. Bauerreiss, *Arbor Vitae. Der "Lebensbaum" und seine Verwendung in Liturgie, Kunst und Brauchtum des Abendlandes*, Munich, 1938, p. 36.

19. L. Baur, *Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, XVIII, 4-6)*, Münster (Westphalia), 1917, pp. 72-76.

20. Zofia Ameisenowa, "Animal-headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints and Righteous Men," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII, 1949, pp. 37f., and Ellen J. Beer, *op.cit.*, p. 18 and figs. 51, 52.

21. "Die Gegenwart, von der Vergangenheit lernend, soll klüglich handeln, um nicht durch ihre Handlung die Zukunft zu gefährden." Erwin Panofsky, "'Signum Triciput.' Ein hellenistisches Kultsymbol in der Kunst der Renaissance," *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XVIII)*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1930, pp. 1-9. A head with three faces can also be a symbol for the Christian Trinity. Cf. R. Pettazzoni, "The

Pagan Origins of the Three-headed Representation of the Christian Trinity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IX, 1946, pp. 135-151, and X. Barbier de Montault, *Traité d'iconographie chrétienne*, II, Paris, 1890, p. 26. Sometimes, e.g. in Herrad von Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*, a tricephalous figure is a symbol for the unity of "Ethica, Logica, and Phisica" within *Philosophia*. See Herrade de Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum* (Texte explicatif par A. Straub et G. Keller), Strasbourg, 1899, pl. XI bis and pp. 10f.

22. E.g. in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels. See J. van den Gheyn, *Le Psautier de Peterborough*, pl. 1.

23. The combination of the swastika and the hammer is also found in a drawing by Villard de Honnecourt. Cf. Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt*, Vienna, 1935, pp. 98f. and pl. 38.

24. Cave and Borenius, p. 299. Cf. E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1944, p. 142.

25. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, "Quelques survivances de symboles solaires dans l'art du moyen âge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1937, pp. 79-82.

About the dragon the mediaeval bestiary says: "To this dragon the devil is likened, who is a most enormous serpent. As it often rushes forth from its cavern into the air and the air glows around it, so does the devil, raising himself from the depths [of hell], transform himself into an angel of light and delude stupid people with the false hope of glory and human joy. As it is said to be crested, so is he himself the king of pride." But the bestiary also says that "its strength lies not in its teeth but in its tail"²⁶ and for that reason the dragon can rise on its tail. In the representation here in Peterborough the dragon does raise itself on its tail, looking upward to the Devil in the middle row.²⁷

On the right of the Devil there is another terrible monster eating a leg and an arm of a human body. Cave describes it as "a monster with a semi-human face, human arms coming from the forehead, the body of a beast, perhaps of a horse, with a tail, and webbed feet."²⁸ A similar beast is depicted in a psalter of ca. 1250, probably executed for the Count of Lincoln.²⁹ In the rose window of Lausanne there is the so-called *cynomologi* which is eating a leg and an arm of a human being.³⁰ There it is connected with the river Tigris, and in Peterborough, too, the monster is placed next to one of the symbols of the rivers of paradise. The reason is that the rivers very often symbolize the four great regions of the world.³¹ As Ellen J. Beer says concerning the rose of Lausanne these monsters represent countries very far away.³² In Vézelay it is the heathen countries to which the apostles have to bring the Gospels.³³

As we have already seen, the Lamb with the cross-banner of the Resurrection and the chalice is placed in opposition to the preceding scene with the Devil. The Lamb is Christ, who gave his life to give us eternal life. The chalice emphasizes that the picture also symbolizes the Holy Sacrament.

Next to the *Agnus Dei* there is St. Peter with the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The Abbey Church of Peterborough was dedicated to him. Perhaps he here represents the Church in opposition to the next scene—*Luxuria* or *Vanitas mundi*.

An ape is riding backwards on a goat, and on its left hand an owl is perched. The other hand is extended toward the owl, as though in benediction. In his description of the scene Cave says that "under its arm the ape holds a lure."³⁴ As far as I can see, what has appeared to Cave to be a lure, is a white triangle on the front of the ape's coat. Cave notices a similar scene in the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and thinks that it "may have had some magical significance." H. W. Janson, in his excellent study of apes and ape lore, mentions the goat-riding ape and connects it with tendencies toward burlesques of knighthood and the ideals of chivalry appearing early in the thirteenth century: "At that time one of the panels of the wooden ceiling covering the nave of Peterborough Cathedral was decorated with the image of an ape riding backwards on a goat and carrying an owl. This figure (which, we may safely assume, originated in the realm of manuscript illumination) stands about half-way between the self-contained ape-cum-monster types of Romanesque art and the full-fledged parodies of the later thirteenth century. Goat and owl, both of them devilish creatures associated, respectively, with lechery and paganism, may be regarded as the successors of the animal-demons of the previous era, but they are no longer of overpowering size in relation to the ape and thus carry far less of a threat. In fact, the reverse position of the simian, and the owl in

26. G. C. Druce, "The Mediaeval Bestiaries and their Influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, N.S., XXVI, 1920, pp. 33ff.

27. Cave and Borenius in their study of the ceiling have turned the photograph of the dragon in such a way that the monster seems to crawl (pl. xci, 5). But when studying the position of this and the other scenes, we understand that this is incorrect: the dragon should be the only figure in the side rows with a different horizontal line from that of the others in an east-west direction.

28. Cave and Borenius, p. 301 and pl. xciii, 2.

29. E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 80a.

30. Ellen J. Beer, *Die Rose der Kathedrale von Lausanne* . . . , p. 27 and figs. 23 and 30.

31. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1928, p. 320.

32. Ellen J. Beer, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

33. Francis Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay (Étude iconographique par Jean Adhémar)*, Melun, 1948, pp. 175f.

34. Cave and Borenius, p. 300 and pl. xci, 4.

place of the aristocratic hunting falcon, represent an unmistakable element of humour and satire at the expense of the nobility.³⁵

It is not impossible that the Peterborough version may have borrowed some feature from the aristocratic hunting scenes, but these do not give a key to the interpretation of the motif in this case, especially as a part of the whole iconographical system. As we have seen above, in the case of the panel representing the Devil as a pagan divinity, the pictures in the middle row are sometimes connected with those in the side rows, and this would seem to apply in the present case. On the south side of the goat-riding ape there is an ass playing a harp, and on the north side a half-naked woman playing a fiddle. Parallels to these scenes may clarify the meaning of the group: In the church of Saint-Nectaire in France there is a twelfth century capital with a man, holding a branch in his hand, who rides on a goat. In front of him there is an ass playing a harp.³⁶ On a capital from the beginning of the fourteenth century in Magdeburg Cathedral there is a naked woman, riding on a goat, and an ape is sitting behind her, playing the violin.³⁷ To the right of this scene an eagle is holding an owl in its claws. On a corbel of the middle of the fourteenth century in Uppsala Cathedral in Sweden Luxury is shown as a half-naked woman, riding on a he-goat and holding an owl (?) on her left hand and flowers in her right. This part of the scene is surrounded by a dancing man, playing the fiddle, and another man playing the bagpipe. The whole scene symbolizes the vice of Luxury.³⁸ Both in Magdeburg and Uppsala the goat-rider is associated with a violin-player as in Peterborough. In Peterborough and Uppsala there are two musicians, one on each side of the goat-rider. In the *Liber vitae meritorum* by Saint Hildegard of Bingen *Castitas* says to *Luxuria*, among other things: "But the tail of the scorpion, which wounds thee with uncleanness, I am unwilling to speak of; but in the *symphony of a joyous life* (*simphonia laetae vitae*) I have the enjoyment of virtue and chastity. For the joyous life which is mine does not fetter me with the blasphemy of turpitude or wound me with the uncleanness of unchasteness."³⁹ In a Prudentius' manuscript of the twelfth century the men who have followed *Luxuria* are throwing away their instruments (fiddle, harp, and some other instruments) and fleeing when *Sobrietas* has beaten *Luxuria*.⁴⁰

Thus it is very probable that the scenes with the *Asinus ad lyram* and the half-naked woman playing the fiddle should really be connected with the goat-riding ape in the middle row. These three scenes together probably symbolize Luxury or *Vanitas mundi* in general. Thus Saint Augustine in his *Enarrationes in psalmos*⁴¹ uses the comparison between the beauty of the ape and the beauty of the human form when he contrasts "the pleasures derived from worldly pursuits (drinking, luxury, theatrical spectacles) with the joy of contemplating God."⁴²

35. H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, xx), London, 1952, p. 166. The ape, riding a goat, seems to be a symbol of Luxury. Janson (p. 51) notes two examples, one from the narthex of Vézelay and the other from the west façade of Chartres Cathedral, where the ape is *figura luxuriae*. But it was not until the fourteenth century that the specific connection of an ape with sexual desire became frequent (p. 115). In other examples the symbol of Luxury is a naked man or woman, riding on a goat. Sometimes these scenes, like the goat-riding ape at Peterborough, are surrounded by men or animals, playing different instruments. Cf. Katzenellenbogen: "Certain animals embody particular vices or virtues in themselves, and not as attributes, the he-goat for instance, representing Luxury, who, following Venus' example, is herself wont to ride on this animal." Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, x), London, 1939, p. 61.

36. G. Rochias, "Les Chapiteaux de l'église de Saint-Nectaire," *Bulletin Monumental*, LXIII, 1909, pp. 238f., or *Les Chapiteaux de l'église de Saint-Nectaire*, Caen, 1909, pp. 29f.

and fig. 20. Cf. Evelyn Reuter, *Les Représentations de la musique dans la sculpture romane en France*, Paris, 1938, p. 68: "On note que, dans l'église de Saint-Nectaire, comme au portail de Meillers, un homme monté sur un bouc voisine avec la représentation de l'âne musicien, et l'on est tenté de voir dans ce rapprochement, non pas le fait d'une rencontre du hasard, mais l'association voulue des symboles de l'orgueil et de la luxure."

37. Heinrich Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, 5th ed., 1, Leipzig, 1883, p. 494.

38. Folke Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the Fourteenth Century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral* (Figura. Studies edited by the Institute of Art History, University of Uppsala, VII). In press.

39. *Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis opera Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, ed. Pitra, Monte Cassino, 1882, p. 113. (The italics are mine.)

40. R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften*, Berlin, 1905, pl. 115, 1.

41. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XXXVII, cols. 1251-1252.

42. H. W. Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 288.

But these scenes may possibly also have had another meaning of more current interest at the time of the composition of the program. In about the same years as those to which we have assigned the construction of the ceiling (1236-1238), Bishop Robert Grosseteste wrote some letters concerning violation of the sanctity of the churches, two letters to the archdeacon of the diocese, one to the dean and chapter of Lincoln and another to "rectoribus ecclesiarum, vicariis, sacerdotibus parochialibus ejusdem dioecesis." In the first two letters Grosseteste says among other things that no goods, under any pretext, should be exposed for sale in sacred places, and that no games should be allowed in churches and churchyards.⁴³ In the other two letters he speaks about a licentious "feast of fools," which had taken place in Lincoln Cathedral on the first of January.⁴⁴ From these letters we understand that it was a serious problem for the bishop in these years to teach respect for the sanctity of the churches.⁴⁵ Saint Bernard of Clairvaux had also preached against the worldly spirit within the Church. Janson cites his *De consideratione*, addressed to Pope Eugene III, in which, in a chapter dealing with the question What art thou?, the Pope is warned "not to be like 'the ape on the roof, the king of the fools enthroned,' priding himself on his exalted station rather than on his virtues."⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that Grosseteste cites St. Bernard's *De consideratione* several times in his letters of these years, once in 1235, once in 1236, twice in a letter from 1238 and finally once probably in 1239.⁴⁷ From this we understand that in these years Grosseteste was very familiar with this treatise.

Thus the ape can be a symbol of the king of fools. It is quite in order that this symbol can also be connected with luxury, surely one of the most characteristic features of the king of fools or the vain king. About the meaning of the owl in the animal treatises Janson writes, "Since it lives in churches and desecrates them with its filth, it signifies the bad priests, who desecrate the Church with their filth."⁴⁸ Perhaps also the subdeacons' "feast of fools" is signified. Even the scene with the harp-playing ass can be interpreted along similar lines. It is a classical motif and often used as a symbol of Ignorance. Helen Adolf writes, in her interesting essay on this theme: "The old opinion and the new clash curiously on mediaeval All Fool's Day, feast of the subdeacons, where in memory of Balaam's ass such a braying prophet was admitted into church. On the whole, the one time inventor of Oriental music, the phallic companion of Bacchus, had become the symbol of stupidity and sensuality. . . . This idea of knowledge that transcends was further strengthened by the pictorial representations of the *ōvos lupas*. For on church fronts and in missals, it obviously could not mean exclusion of those with a low I.Q.—since the poor in spirit and those who became like children were to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Here the allegorical interpretation was ready at hand; the ass was the pagan mind, said the commentaries to Matthew, 21.5: 'Asinus est populus gentilis,' whereas among the baptized he represented the carnal man as opposed to the spiritual one (e.g. Romans 8, 1-9)."⁴⁹

The next scene in the middle row of the ceiling is a representation of St. Paul, co-patron of the church. Next to him a beardless man with a crown on his head is sitting on an arch within a mandorla and with the stars of heaven as background. In his right hand he holds a scepter (fleur-de-lys) and in his left hand a burning lamp. In the side rows there are four figures playing different instruments, two musicians on each side of him. In the south row there is one playing an *organistrum*

43. *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolnensis epistolae*, ed. H. R. Luard (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, xxv) London, 1861, No. XXI, pp. 71f. and No. XXII, pp. 74f. (This work hereafter cited as *Epistolae*.) Cf. R. Sherman Loomis, "Lincoln as a Dramatic Centre before 1500," *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du moyen-âge et de la renaissance. Offert à Gustave Cohen*, Paris, 1950, pp. 241-247.

44. *Epistolae*, No. XXXII, pp. 118f., and No. LII, p. 161.

45. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 1, Oxford, 1903, pp. 90f.

46. H. W. Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

47. *Epistolae*, No. XI, p. 53, No. LXXII, p. 205, No. LXII, p. 189 and No. CXXVII, p. 378.

48. H. W. Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

49. Helen Adolf, "The Ass and the Harp," *Speculum*, 1950, pp. 49-57, esp. pp. 51f. Cf. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, pp. 339f.; Evelyn Reuter, *Les Représentations de la musique dans la sculpture romane en France*, pp. 36-38, 66-68, 91-94 and pls. XXIII-XXVI; Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français (Studies of the Warburg Institute, VII)*, London, 1939, p. 227 and H. W. Janson, *op.cit.*, pp. 54f.

(nowadays hurdy-gurdy) and one a fiddle; in the north row a third musician is playing a psaltery while an angel, sitting on an arch, is blowing a cornet.⁵⁰ At first one might think that the king is the King of Heaven, sitting on the rainbow. In Saint-Nectaire Christ is placed opposite to the capital with the goat-riding man and the harp-playing ass. G. Rochias says that Christ "invite tous les hommes aux douces joies de sa paix, que l'Ecriture appelle 'un éternel festin' (Prov. xv, 15)."⁵¹ In the Apocalypse of Astorga, a twelfth century commentary of the Apocalypse, the *Agnus Dei*, Christ on the throne, the four evangelists, and three figures playing different instruments appear within a star-filled circle.⁵² The musicians seem to be symbols of the harmony of the spheres as Baltrušaitis says about "Les choeurs musicaux de David."⁵³ We also have a similar idea in the *Liber Pontificalis* in Rheims from the twelfth century.⁵⁴

But the king on the arch in Peterborough cannot be Christ. Some features of the composition militate against such an interpretation. The king is placed within a mandorla but he has no cross-nimbus and he is not sitting frontally but in half profile. I have found a parallel to this picture in a contemporary English bestiary, now in New York.⁵⁵ There a crowned king sits on a throne with a scepter in his right hand. The scene is inscribed in a mandorla and the king is without a nimbus. His hair is short and he has a young, beardless face. His position is not absolutely frontal, especially not that of the head. The face is shown in half profile. The king seems to be David although he lacks his most usual attribute, the harp, and is surrounded by six sparrows. The attribute the king of the Peterborough ceiling holds in his left hand is a lamp such as the wise and foolish virgins carry. It is very possible that this scene with the king is placed here to form a contrast to the ape on the goat as the king of fools or as the symbol of *Luxuria*. Thus the king with the lamp may be the king of the wise. Perhaps he has borrowed some features from the virtue of *Sapientia*, the queen of the virtues. Prudentius in his *Carmina* says of *Sapientia*: "Here mighty Wisdom sits enthroned and from her high court sets in order all the government of her realm, meditating in her heart, laws to safeguard mankind. In the sovereign's hand is a sceptre. . . ."⁵⁶

This interpretation seems to be more plausible when we notice that there is a representation of the Seven Liberal Arts on each side of the series of the kings and bishops mentioned below. In the marvelous description of *philosophia* and the *artes liberales* in the *Hortus deliciarum* the author has written: "All wisdom cometh from the Lord God. Those who have wisdom have power to do all they desire alone."⁵⁷

Toward the west in the middle row there is a series of ten figures on thrones, five archbishops or bishops alternating with five kings. None of them has a halo or any special attribute. As they decorate a ceiling of a church it is of interest to know the symbolic connection between them and the beams of the roof or, sometimes, the ceiling. Honorius of Autun, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, says in his *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*: "The beams (*igna*) in these houses, which repel the rains and the storms, are the bishops and other prelates of the churches, who defend by their writings and teachings the house of God, that is to say, who defend the

50. For the identification of the different musical instruments I owe Prof. Edward Lowinsky my best thanks.

51. *Les Chapiteaux de l'église de Saint-Nectaire*, p. 30 and fig. 2. Cf. also pp. 7f.

52. A. Bachelin, *Description d'un commentaire de l'Apocalypse. Manuscrit du XII^e siècle compris dans la bibliothèque de son Excellence le Marquis d'Astorga, Comte d'Alamira*, Paris, 1869, pl. at p. 17.

53. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, "Roses des vents et roses de personnages à l'époque romane," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1938, p. 270 and fig. 7.

54. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, "L'Image du monde céleste du IX^e au XII^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1938, p. 147 and fig. 13.

55. Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary. A New Discovery in the Technique*

of *Medieval Illumination*, New York, 1942, fig. 1. The Bestiary is here dated "approximately the second third of the thirteenth century" (p. 23 n. 1).

56. "Hoc residet solio pollens Sapientia et omne Consilium regni celsa disponit ab aula Tutandique hominis leges sub corde retractat. In manibus Dominae Sceptrum."

Aurelii Prudentii Clementis carmina recensuit J. Bergmann (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, LXI), Vienna, 1926, "Psychomachia," vv. 875-878. The English translation from Prudentius. With an English translation by H. J. Thomson, 1, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1949, pp. 340f.

57. Herrade de Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, p. 10 n. 3 and pl. XI bis: "Omnis sapientia a domino Deo est. Soli quod desiderant facere possunt sapientia."

Church, against the heretics."⁵⁸ Further, he says in *Gemma Animae*: "The beams (*trabes*), which join the house together, are the princes of this world, who protect the Church by holding it together."⁵⁹ Sicardus (d. 1215), Bishop of Cremona, wrote his *Mitrale seu de officiis ecclesiasticis summa* in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He says there in *Liber Primus: De ecclesiae aedificatione, ornatu et utensilibus*: "The beams (*trabes*), which join the house together, are the princes of this world and the preachers, who protect the unity of the Church, the latter by words, the former by deeds, seeking thus to exterminate the heretics and to prevent schisms."⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that there are five kings and five bishops in the series. V. F. Hopper says in his book *Medieval Number Symbolism*: "Ireneus, in his refutation of the Gnostics, argues that their theology is fallacious not because it is based on number, but because the numerical scheme is incorrect. For do they not completely ignore the number 5, which is everywhere manifest in the True Faith?"⁶¹

Here it is also interesting to note that the abbey of Peterborough had close patrimonial relations with the king. Matthew Paris speaks about the king, in the days of the Abbot Walter de St. Edmund, as "their patron, and the founder of their church."⁶² This is said concerning an annual revenue requested by the Pope in 1241. We also know of at least two visits to the abbey by the king during the abbacy of Walter de St. Edmund.⁶³ On the other hand the abbey was under the bishop's jurisdiction and it was he who had to carry out the visitations.

To the west of the musicians and on each side of the row with the kings and the bishops there are representations of the Seven Liberal Arts. It is quite logical to have the Liberal Arts in this iconographical system, which seems to be more or less a sermon against false belief or paganism and luxury. In a treatise *De artibus liberales* or *De utilitate artium*, probably written in the early years of his chancellorship at Oxford or about 1218-1220, Grosseteste says:

In human actions error and imperfection arise from three causes: because the understanding is darkened by ignorance and because striving ceases before it should or goes too far owing to lack of moderation and because the motive powers of the body are weak and imperfect instruments owing to the infirmities of the flesh.—In every action where error and imperfection have begun to appear guidance and help are necessary to remove error and supply deficiencies.

But in human actions the Seven Liberal Arts (*artes septem*) act as purges of error and as guides to perfection, which alone among the parts of philosophy are designated by the name of art because their only purpose is to lead human actions to perfection by means of correction.⁶⁴

Beginning on the north side there is *Grammatica*, a woman teaching a child. She is, as usual, opening the series of the *trivium*. Opposite her there is a figure (woman?) sitting on a bow with a double-table in her left hand and a plant or a scepter in her right. Cave thinks the double-table is "the tables of the law."⁶⁵ The figure is *Rhetorica* and her attributes are the same as in the representation of philosophy and the Liberal Arts in the *Hortus deliciarum*⁶⁶ and in a miniature of a manuscript in the Hirsch Collection in Basel.⁶⁷ Next to her in the south row there is a woman with her right hand extended as though in benediction; her left hand once held an object now destroyed. In front of her there is a monk of much shorter stature standing on a pedestal and holding up "an object that looks like a crocketed finial."⁶⁸ These figures have to represent the third of the *trivium*. In the above-mentioned series in the *Hortus deliciarum*, *Dialectica* is holding

58. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CLXXII, p. 381B.

59. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CLXXII, p. 586B.

60. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CCXIII, p. 22C.

61. V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, New York, 1938, p. 74.

62. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, IV, (*Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi scriptores*, No. 57, v. 4), London, 1877, p. 102.

63. Thomas Craddock, *Peterborough Cathedral*, pp. 56f.

64. L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philo-*

sophie des Mittelalters, IX), Münster (Westphalia), 1912, p. 1. For the date, cf. S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253*, Cambridge (Eng.), 1940, pp. 91f.

65. Cave and Borenius, p. 303 and pl. xciv, 4.

66. *Op.cit.*, pl. xi bis.

67. G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit der romanischen Stils*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. cxv, p. 392.

68. Cave and Borenius, p. 303 and pl. xciv, 5.

a "caput canis"⁶⁹ in her left hand and has her right hand in about the same position as the hand of the corresponding figure in Peterborough. Usually she has a serpent as her attribute, as on the west front of the Cathedral of Laon, where her hands and arms have about the same position as in our motif in Peterborough. Sometimes her attribute is a scorpion instead, as on one of the west portals of Chartres,⁷⁰ or she is armed with sword, helmet, and shield, as in a Basel manuscript.⁷¹ But since the Peterborough figure does not have the ordinary attribute of *Dialectica*, it may just as well depict *Logica*. For instance in an Austrian manuscript of the middle of the thirteenth century⁷² there is a personification of *Logica* with her hands in exactly the same position as the hands of the figure in Peterborough and without any other attributes. Grosseteste says about *Logica*: "But the function of logic is to judge and discuss, according to a threefold system, that which we have obtained correct information about in our understanding."⁷³ Thus it is not impossible that we here have *Logica* discussing with a monk probably the very piece of architecture which he is holding in his hand. In that case *Logica* has been put into the *trivium* instead of *Dialectica*, just as in Grosseteste's treatise, but of course it is very difficult to distinguish between a representation of *Logica* and one of *Dialectica* without any inscriptions. Grosseteste speaks of *Logica* as the second of the *trivium*, but here in the ceiling *Rhetorica*, as usual, is the second one. He says: "Grammar gives us correct information about the aspect. Logic determines without error how that about which we have obtained correct information is in its very essence. Rhetoric persuades our feeling to shun in a moderate manner or to attempt to learn what the judgment of it is."

In the north row there is the representation of *Musica*. It is a woman playing an *organistrum*. Within the *quadrivium*, *Musica* is placed first. This is rather unusual in artistic representation,⁷⁴ and it is interesting to note that Grosseteste was the first to record it in scientific writing: "The function of music is not less useful in *philosophia naturalis*, for it can heal, as all sickness is cured by an orderly arrangement and temperateness of the spirits, and as every one who by an orderly arrangement and temperateness of the spirits is cured, so is he healed by musical modulations and sounds, as also the philosophers believe."⁷⁵

Musica is followed by *Arithmetica* in the south row. This scene is badly repainted, but what we actually see is a figure sitting frontally, holding up two objects. In the left hand is a square with nine dots, but the object in the right is too badly preserved to be identified. *Arithmetica* is found in about the same position in a representation over one of the west windows of Notre-Dame at Laon: "L'Arithmétique qui tient entre ses doigts les boules de l'antique abaque ou machine à compter."⁷⁶ In the Basel miniature she is holding a round plate with nine dots as in Peterborough.⁷⁷

Geometrica, placed opposite to *Arithmetica* and in the north row, is easy to identify: a woman holding a pair of compasses and a large set square.⁷⁸

To the west of *Geometrica* in the north row there is the personification of *Astronomia*, ending the series of the Liberal Arts. It is a woman sitting on a bench and holding up a kind of jar or vessel. Originally there were probably stars in the background. There is a similar representation without stars in the Austrian manuscript of the middle of the thirteenth century, mentioned above.⁷⁹

69. *Op.cit.*, pl. xi bis.

70. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1902, pp. 105f. and fig. 33.

71. G. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pl. cxv.

72. Paul Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark, I (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich)*, herausgeg. von Hans Wickhoff, fortgesetzt von Max Dvořák, IV), Leipzig, 1911, fig. 92.

73. L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 1f.

74. But cf. the *Hortus deliciarum*, p. 10 n. 4 and pl. xi bis, where *Musica* is placed first, just as at Peterborough and in

Grosseteste's writing.

75. L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 4f. Concerning his priority in scientific writing, see L. Baur, *Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 17f.

76. A. Bouxin, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Laon*, Laon, 1890, p. 99, fig. e.

77. G. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pl. cxv.

78. The scene has been otherwise interpreted. Thus E. W. Tristram says in his great work *English Medieval Painting* (p. 142) that the figure is "probably a representation of the builder."

79. P. Buberl, *op.cit.*, fig. 92.



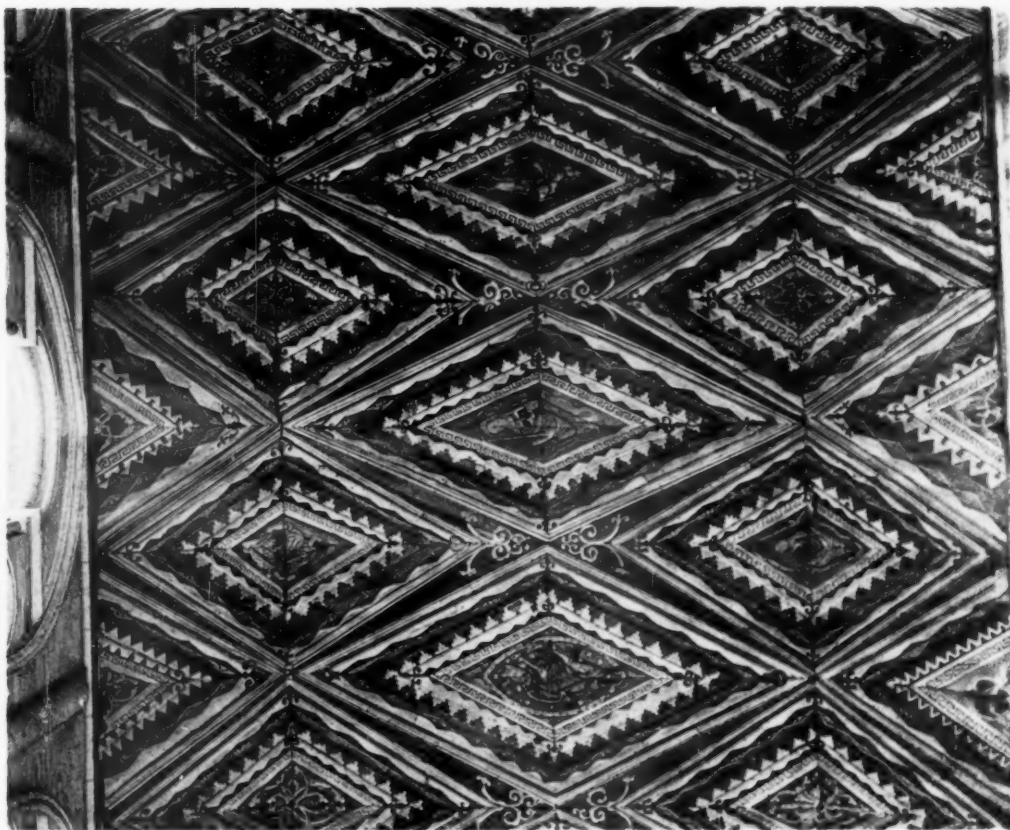
1. Interior of the nave



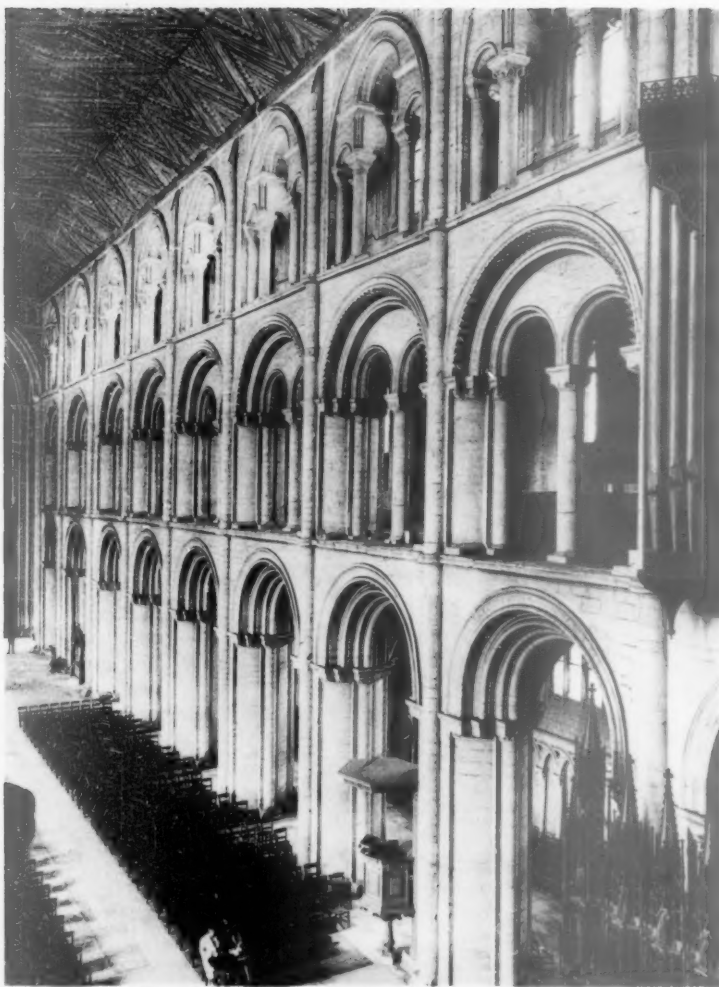
2. Painted ceiling of the nave



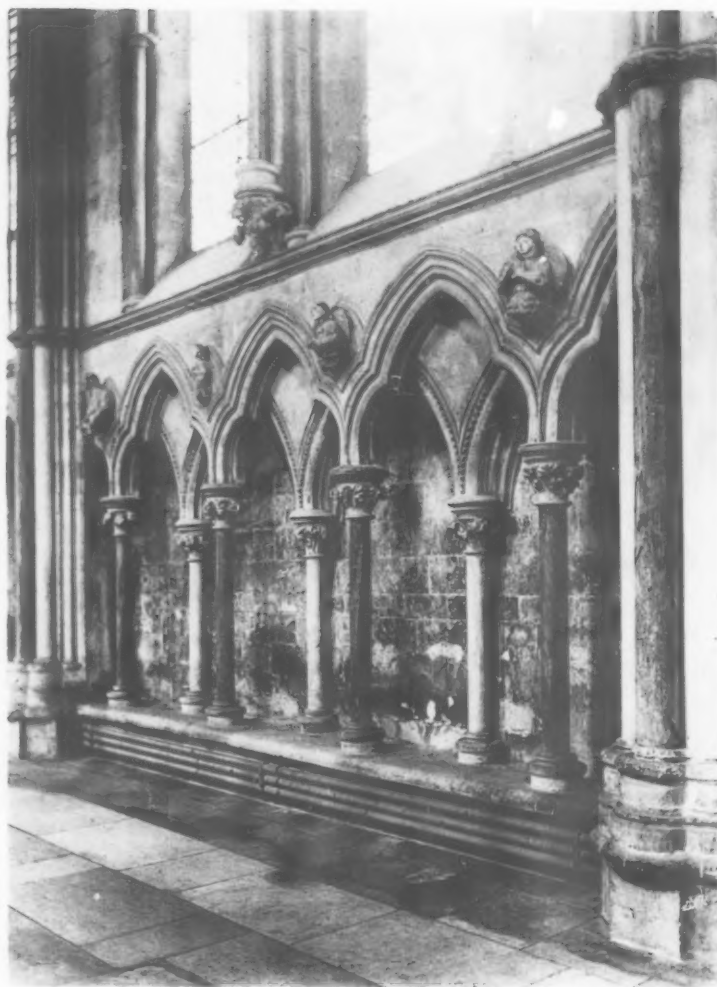
3. *Beatus* page of the Fitzwilliam Psalter
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 12, fol. 12v
Courtesy Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum



4. Part of the painted ceiling



5. Peterborough Cathedral, north side of central nave



6. Lincoln Cathedral, double arcading of the south choir



7. Beverley Minster, interior of nave with double arcading of triforium



8. Lincoln Cathedral, double arcading of north central transept

But there it stands for *Phisica* and not for *Astronomia*. It is a very common type for *Astronomia* as we can see in the *Hortus deliciarum*⁸⁰ or in the carvings on the west front of Laon Cathedral.⁸¹

Opposite *Astronomia* is a figure in a chariot with the head surrounded by flames and with a bowl with flames in the left hand. It must be a personification of the sun.

In the middle row to the west of the series of kings and bishops is an eagle, the bird of the sun. The eagle is also next to the moon in the westernmost diamond of the middle row. But it is looking eastward and perhaps toward the sun, next to it in the south row, and it is flying in that direction. The Greek Physiologus tells us the following story about the eagle: "When he grows old, his flight becomes heavy and his eyesight dim. He first seeks a pure spring of water, then flies aloft toward the sun, burns off his old feathers and the film over his eyes. Finally he flies down to the spring, dives into it three times, thereby renewing himself and becoming young again." Thus it is not by chance that the eagle is placed almost between the moon and the sun, turned toward the latter and flying in that direction. Nor is it by chance, I think, that farthest away, in the same row, there is a fish—a symbol of water in the first scene of the ceiling, as we have already seen.⁸²

Concerning the symbolic meaning of the eagle I refer the reader to the excellent study "Eagle and Serpent" by Rudolf Wittkower.⁸³ In connection with the Greek Physiologus and its story about the eagle, flying toward the sun, he says: "This curious story is used as a simile for man: when the eyes of his heart are grown dull, he should fly aloft to the sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, and rejuvenate himself in the ever flowing spring of penance in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This is meant as an interpretation of the words of the psalm mentioned above (103, v. 5): so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's." But Wittkower also says that the flight of the eagle toward the sun is sometimes interpreted "as a symbol of intrepidity, or in other words of the unshakable belief in Christ."

The last picture in the middle row is another chariot. As Cave has pointed out, there has been a great change in the iconographical representation owing to the repainting in the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ But we know from the description by Pownall⁸⁵ that from the outset the figure must have been a personification of the moon.

In the last diamond of the south row a woman holds a garland of foliage with flowers. She wears a kind of drapery, which hangs over her right shoulder, and a wreath of foliage on her head. The figure seems to have been very much repainted, but I think there is no doubt that she symbolizes one of the seasons, spring perhaps, or the power of vegetal life. Since she is placed so close to the moon it is interesting to notice that Grosseteste, too, stresses the connection of the moon with the presence of growth on earth: "For it is the moon which unites the celestial powers with the earth below. When therefore in the planting season the light of the moon increases in the east or at the zenith of the heavens under the influence of favorable positions in the vault of heaven, whose power it transmits downwards, it shall by its powerful action drive great vital heat into the plant and hasten and intensify its growth and fruitfulness."⁸⁶

We have, I think, the same idea in the illuminated manuscript in the Hirsch Collection at

80. *Op.cit.*, pl. xi bis.

81. A. Bouxin, *op.cit.*, p. 99, fig. e and pp. 100f.

82. A similar composition can be studied on the west front of Peterborough Cathedral. M. R. James has pointed out in his study "On the Paintings formerly in the Choir at Peterborough," mentioned above, that the base of the central shaft of the west door is sculptured with a scene of Simon Magus, "who is shown at the moment when the devils left hold of him." This scene corresponds to that of St. Peter in the middle gable of the west front.

83. Rudolf Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent," *Journal of the*

Warburg Institute, II, 1938-1939, pp. 293-325, esp. pp. 312ff. Concerning the eagle in the bestiary see also Alexandra Konstantinowa, *Ein englisches Bestiar des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Mit einem Vorwort von Adolf Goldschmidt) (*Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*, IV), Berlin, 1929, pp. 18ff. and Fig. 14.

84. Cave and Borenius, p. 301 and fig. XCII, 9.

85. "Observations on Ancient Painting in England," pp. 147f. and pl. VII, 3.

86. L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, p. 5.

Basel already mentioned, where we see *Astronomia* accompanied by a faun holding flowers, which is a personification of vegetal growth and fructification.⁸⁷

On the opposite side—in the north row—there is a lion. As already noted, the other corner diamonds of the ceiling show representations of groups of four, two of the four rivers of paradise or the four cardinal points and one of the seasons. So the lion is very possibly a symbol of one of the four cardinal virtues (fortitude), the elements (fire), the temperaments (the choleric), the evangelists (Mark) or the seasons (summer). As there is already in the other west corner of the ceiling a representation of spring it is very likely that the lion here is a symbol of summer. As in both the first scenes of the middle series, space and time are placed together, so two of the cardinal points and two of the seasons are combined in the four corners of the ceiling.

We have found several connections between the iconography of the ceiling and the scientific writing of Bishop Robert Grosseteste. As we shall see later, the Bishop seems to have had a great deal to do with the construction of the ceiling. But the iconographical program as a whole seems to be a fusion of certain humanistic ideas and a strictly religious interpretation of ideas similar to those of the first two psalms of the Psalter. As already noted, there was an active school of manuscript illumination at Peterborough at the time, and the interesting thing is that nearly all the known manuscripts are psalters. If we analyse the program of the ceiling there are the following humanistic motifs: (1) The four or six directions of space. (2) Time. These two pictures of space and time together symbolize the creation. (3) The King of the Wise and the Liberal Arts with close relations to Grosseteste's treatise on this subject. (4) The close relation between the moon and the personification of one of the seasons or vegetal life.

But we also find most of the motifs in the illustrations of the *Beatus vir* pages of the psalters. There are often pictures of: (1) The creation. (2) Pagan people. (3) The goat-riding ape, ape and owl, or other apes. (4) The harp-playing ass. (5) St. Peter and St. Paul. (6) Four musicians. (7) The sun and the moon.

The first two psalms of the Psalter read as follows (certain phrases being here italicized for easier reference):

Psalm 1. Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. 2. But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate *day and night*. 3. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, *that bringeth forth his fruits in his seasons*; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. 4. *The ungodly* are not so; but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away. 5. Therefore the *ungodly* shall not stand in the judgment, nor *sinners* in the congregation of the righteous. 6. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous but the way of the ungodly shall perish.

Psalm 2. Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? 2. *The kings of the earth* set themselves, and *the rulers* take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, 3. Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. 4. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. 5. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. 6. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. 7. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. 8. Ask of me, and *I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession*. 9. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. 10. *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth*. 11. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. 12. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

Sometimes the creation is represented in the psalters as a decoration to Psalm 1. Thus there are scenes of the creation on the *Beatus vir* page of a psalter at Belvoir Castle, in the library of the Duke of Rutland. This psalter was executed for Edmund de Laci, probably Count of Lincoln, who died in 1258.⁸⁸ Another example is a psalter in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Auct. D.

87. R. Forrer, *Unedierte Federzeichnungen, Miniaturen und Initialen des Mittelalters*, 1, Strassburg, 1902, pl. 11.

88. E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. 79a and pp. 107f.

4.4.), also from the thirteenth century and containing a series of the seven days of the creation. In the Psalter of Robert de Lindeseye, executed in Peterborough ca. 1220, an ape appears on the *Beatus vir* page together with a buffoon.⁸⁹ Probably he is a symbol of the sinner.⁹⁰ In this miniature there are also four musicians together with King David.⁹¹ Also in a French psalter of the beginning of the thirteenth century an ape appears on the *Beatus vir* page.⁹² In the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels of about 1300, already mentioned, the ape is riding backward on a goat as in the ceiling. This psalter copies other scenes from the abbey church of Peterborough, as pointed out by M. R. James.⁹³ On the same page of the psalter there is also an owl, and even a man representing the heathen in the beginning of Psalm 2. Compare Psalm 2:8, "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." In the ceiling there are representations of the heathen people and the uttermost parts of the earth. On the *Beatus vir* page of the Luttrell Psalter of ca. 1340, as in the ceiling, the ape is holding the owl.⁹⁴ The harp-playing ass is shown in another *Beatus vir* page of an English psalter from ca. 1200.⁹⁵ In a late eleventh century psalter in Berlin the initial B of the *Beatus vir* page is also decorated, among other motifs, with a representation of the Devil,⁹⁶ also shown in the Huntingfield Psalter of the end of the twelfth century (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 43).⁹⁷ In a psalter in Trinity College (R. 17. 1) at Cambridge⁹⁸ there are the personifications of the sun holding a flaming solar disc, representing the day, and the moon holding a flaming torch and flanked by stars, representing the night. Christ-Logos, with the inscription *Beatus Vir*, *BEAT VIR*, is seated on an inverted arc within a cross-surmounted Holy Church. Opposite him the ungodly king with the inscription *Superbia*, *SUPBIA*, is seated on a throne with sword and scepter in his hands.

Thus images of kings and rulers, ungodly or wise, occur in both the psalters and the ceiling. The exhortation of Psalm 2:10, "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth," is easily compared with the kings and bishops on the ceiling between the Liberal Arts and placed immediately after the king of the wise. Often the wise king Solomon is shown, as in the thirteenth century psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 756.⁹⁹ In another psalter from the first half of the fourteenth century there are, among other motifs, two grotesques, one cleric with mitred human head, the other with crowned head, and both with the body of a dragon.¹⁰⁰ Thus both the words of the psalter and the current situation can be related to the iconographical program of the ceiling, and the situation may be summed up as follows: The activity of Grosse-teste led him to read the king a lesson as well as to criticize the pope, the bishops, and the abbots. For him, as for Bishop Sicardus of Cremona, they should be "princes of this world and preachers, who protect the unity of the Church."¹⁰¹

AN OPTICAL ILLUSION OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Standing in the nave of Peterborough Cathedral and looking, not straight upwards, but obliquely along the length of the ceiling, one has the illusion not of a closed ceiling with panels but of the beams of an open roof. This impression is perhaps strongest when the light is not too bright. One can see the same thing, both standing at the west end of the nave looking toward the choir, and

89. Fol. 38v. *New Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of ancient MSS*, 1913-1926, Pts. VI, VII, pl. 128a.

90. H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape-Lore*, pp. 29-56 and 147.

91. Cf. also e.g. V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Macon, 1940-1941, pl. L.

92. *ibid.*, pl. LXVI.

93. "On the Painting formerly in the Choir at Peterborough," pp. 183ff.

94. *The Luttrell Psalter*. With introduction by E. G. Millar, London, 1932, pl. 1 (f. 13).

95. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1911,

p. 180.

96. *The Hamilton Psalter* (Kgl. Kupferstichkab., Berlin, 78. A. 5.)

97. E. G. Millar, *op.cit.*, pl. 59b.

98. *The Canterbury Psalter* (With Introduction by M. R. James), London, 1935, pl. f. 5b.

99. Fol. 11r.

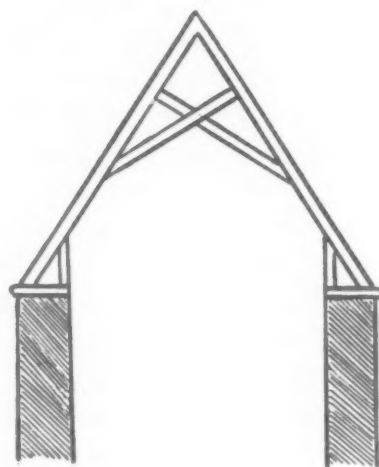
100. H. Y. Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson*, IV, London, 1914, p. 23 and pl. XLIV: MS 56, De La Twyere Psalter, probably from Yorkshire.

101. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CCXIII, col. 22C.

standing in the choir, looking into the nave; and it does not matter whether one stands on the floor or higher up, e.g. in the triforium gallery. (But it is always only within a limited part of the roof that the illusion is perfect.) It is the frames around the painted figures in the diamond-shaped quadrangles together with the canted form of the roof which produce this interesting effect—a kind of optical illusion in the first half of the thirteenth century!



1. The optical illusion, sketch of construction of beam-roof.



2. Scissors beam-roof after Francis Bond.

It can hardly be an accident that we have just this illusion of an open beam-roof in an early thirteenth century work. Such a roof was very common in those days in England, but the paneled ceiling seems to have been exceptional—especially in a canted form as here in Peterborough. If we study the illusion, we can readily draw a sketch of the construction of the beam-roof (text fig. 1). It is not a complicated construction but a simple beam-roof (text fig. 2) of a type resembling that which Francis Bond calls “type C” or “scissors beam-roof.”¹⁰² Bond even says that this kind of beam-roof was usually not a paneled but an open roof, especially in the naves of the churches. In this connection it is of special interest that the “scissors beam-roof” of our optical illusion is probably of the same kind as the original timbers which the ceiling concealed. Cave and Borenus say in their study of the ceiling: “The original timbers may have formed a scissor roof such as may still be seen in the north-west tower; the ceiling would have fitted such a roof exactly, including the boarding at the sides.”¹⁰³

We also see how well these beams are connected with the architecture of the nave. Looking straight upwards (cf. Fig. 4) we find that the painted figures and the frames have no logical connection with the architecture of the walls, the shafts or the windows. Everything seems to be a little warped or out of line. When we look obliquely upwards (cf. Fig. 2), the beams seem to rise both from the upper parts of the shafts, which have been cut off slantingly, and from the walls over the points of the windows. This, too, is only an illusion due to the slanting form of the top of the shafts, to the short distance between the top of the shafts or the point of the windows and the ceiling, and finally to the visual angle. Thus our point of observation is important. The necessary displacement of the lowest part of the “beams” compared with the top of the shafts or the windows can only occur in certain circumstances. One must stand on the floor (there is

102. Francis Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture*, II, London, 1913, pp. 789 and 792.

103. Cave and Borenus, p. 297.

a great difference if one stands higher up, e.g. in the triforium gallery), and especially one must not look at the roof from one of the long sides, facing the other one (as in Fig. 5). Such a connection between the form of the painting and the shafts is not so necessary if the painting is only meant as a mere decoration. Compare for instance the ceiling in the great transept¹⁰⁴ or that of St. Michael at Hildesheim of ca. 1200.¹⁰⁵ Nothing in the decoration of these ceilings seems to rise from the walls. In the transept of Peterborough the shafts still have their capitals and in St. Michael at Hildesheim the high walls are completely without shafts. But in the illusion of the open beam-roof it is important that the shafts should seem to carry the beams or that the beams should seem to rise just above the top of the pointed windows and the shafts. As a consequence of this relation the correspondence between the painted ceiling and the architecture of the nave is shown also in the number of the lozenges in the ceiling. There are 10 bays and thus 10 windows and 9 shafts in the clearstory and 2 x 10 lozenges in the middle row of the ceiling and 19 in each siderow.

The beam-roof is also of importance for the iconographical program of the ceiling. There are, among other figures, five kings and five bishops alternating in the middle series, as has already been mentioned in connection with the interpretation of the iconography. There I have also cited Honorius of Autun and Sicardus to show the iconographical meaning of the kings and bishops. Here I quote one more, William Durandus, who wrote the first book of his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* about fifty years after the erection of the nave ceiling of Peterborough Cathedral. He says: "The beams which join together the church are the princes of this world or the preachers who defend the unity of the Church, the one by deed, the other by argument. . . . The beams in the church are preachers, who spiritually sustain it. The vaulting also, or ceiling, representeth preachers, who adorn and strengthen it, concerning whom, seeing that they are not corruptible through vice, the bridegroom glorieth in the same Canticles, saying 'the beams of our house are cedar, and its ceiling, fir.'"¹⁰⁶ As we have already seen, Sicardus (d. 1215) says that the beams are secular princes and preachers, "who protect the unity of the Church, the latter by words, the former by deeds, seeking thus to exterminate the heretics and to prevent schisms."¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to see how well the symbolism of the beams is combined with the kings and bishops on the painted ceiling.

Thus we have found how perfectly our optical illusion of the open beam-roof corresponds to the architecture of the nave, to the type of roof of that time, and finally to the iconography of the ceiling. Everything seems to agree. But is it really possible to speak about optical illusions as early as in the first half of the thirteenth century?

The history of optics or *perspectiva* shows clearly that in the thirteenth century there was great interest in this subject among English scientists such as Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1168-1253), Roger Bacon (ca. 1214-1292), and John Pecham (1228-1291).¹⁰⁸ Of these men only Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, is relevant for Peterborough, as the others were too young when the ceiling seems to have been built; and it is interesting to note that Grosseteste was the bishop who dedicated the building in 1238. It may be useful to recall some of his actions and writing.

Robert Grosseteste was born ca. 1168.¹⁰⁹ We know very little about the first half of his life,

104. W. D. Sweeting, *The Cathedral Church of Peterborough*, fig. p. 65, description p. 81.

105. Reproduction in e.g. Cave and Borenus, pl. xcvi.

106. William Durandus, *The Symbolism of the Churches and Church Ornaments* (A translation of the first book of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* written by William Durandus with an Introductory Essay and Notes by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb), London, 1906, p. 25.

107. Above p. 249 and Migne, *Patr. lat.*, ccxiii, col. 22c.

108. Roger Bacon says in his *Opus tertium* (*Opera Fr.*

Baconis hactenus inedita, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1859, p. 37) that *perspectiva* was lectured upon twice at Oxford to his knowledge, but never at Paris. In her book *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, New York, 1940, p. 106, Miriam Schild Bunim mentions the interest in optics together with the change in style during this time, but she holds that these "early scientific investigations did not have an immediate effect on spatial form in painting."

109. D. A. Callus, "The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste," *Oxoniensia*, x, 1945, p. 44.

but he seems to have lived at the Bishop's House in Lincoln and in Hereford, and probably he studied at Oxford. Between 1209 and 1214 he was probably in Paris studying theology. Soon after 1214, when the lectures at Oxford were resumed, Grosseteste became *Magister scholarum* of the university. He was Archdeacon of Leicester from 1229 until 1232, when he retired because of illness, but he retained a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral.¹¹⁰ Only one of his other preferments is certain, that of Abbotsley, which he was granted in 1225 by Bishop Hugh de Welles of Lincoln.¹¹¹ But he was also first lecturer to the Franciscans at Oxford from 1229 until 1235,¹¹² when he was elected Bishop of Lincoln. He died at Lincoln in 1253.

As mentioned above, Robert Grosseteste dedicated the abbey church of Peterborough in 1238 "quarto kalendas Octobris." But he had probably visited the abbey as well as other religious houses within the diocese before this. In his *Propositio de visitatione diocesis suae*, Grosseteste says: "Wherefore, at the commencement of my episcopate, I began to go round through the several archdeaconries, and in them through the several rural deaneries. . . ."¹¹³ As a result of Grosseteste's first visitation in his diocese, in 1236, he removed eleven abbots and priors from their offices.¹¹⁴

The closeness of his relations to Peterborough is shown by a letter, written early in his episcopate, to the Abbot and Convent of Bury.¹¹⁵ This letter contains paraphrased sections from the Longer Rules of St. Basil, interpolates some of Grosseteste's etymologies and a short section from the Ecclesiastica hierarchia of the pseudo-Dionysius, and closes with some personal words concerning the necessity of a dedication of the abbey.¹¹⁶ Therefore it must have been written before the dedication of the

110. *Epistolae*, No. VIII, pp. 43f.

111. *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolnensis A.D. MCCIX-MCCXXXV*, III, ed. by F. N. Davis (*The Lincoln Record Society*, IX), Lincoln, 1914, p. 48. Cf. J. C. Russell, "The Preferments and 'Adiutores' of Robert Grosseteste," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXVI, 1933, p. 166.

112. D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1930, p. 12.

113. F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1899, p. 130.

114. "Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia," *Annales monastici*, III (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, No. 36:3), London, 1866, p. 143.

115. *Epistolae*, No. LVII, pp. 173-178 and S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, Cambridge (England), 1940, p. 71.

116. In my opinion, it is certain that the letter was written to the Abbot and Convent of *de Burgo Sancti Petri*, i.e. Peterborough, but S. Harrison Thomson holds that it was written to the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Since his point of view seems to be accepted in later works, as in J. H. Srawley's *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Lincoln, 1953, p. 13), and also since the interpretations have varied earlier, I would like to dwell a little on this problem. In his edition of Grosseteste's letters in 1861, H. R. Luard (*Epistolae*, p. 173) held that the letter was addressed to the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough. R. Pauli expressed a contrary opinion in 1864 in his study *Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh, a Contribution to the Earlier History of the University of Oxford* (Tübingen, 1864). F. S. Stevenson, in his biography *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln of 1235-1253* (p. 165 and n. 4), cites the letter as "addressed to the Abbot and convent of Peterborough," but in the note he relates the different opinions and concludes that "Bury St. Edmunds, however, is not impossible." Harrison Thomson, taking up the problem for discussion in his work about Grosseteste's writings in 1940, wrote: "Luard suggests (without date) that the letter was written to Walter of St. Edmund, Abbot of Peterborough, a suggestion accepted by Stevenson (p. 165), but Pauli's contention (p. 52), that the letter was addressed to St. Edmundsbury, seems perhaps more acceptable. Grosseteste's relations with the latter house were close and scholarly. We have a record of his exchange of MSS with the monastery in Pembroke, Cambridge,

MS 7. See *Introductio*, p. 25ff. The phraseology in the salutation *Abbati et conventui de Burgo* is a usual term for St. Edmundsbury, whereas in the *Rotuli Grosseteste* Peterborough is usually *Burgum Sancti (Beati) Petri*. Pp. 173-178." (*Op.cit.*, p. 203.)

But in the *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste* (*The Lincoln Record Society*, XI, Horncastle, 1914) the expression *de Burgo* is not unusual at all for Peterborough, even if we find the term *Burgum Sancti Petri* too. Sometimes they are used side by side, e.g. on p. 69: "Sancti Michaelis Stanford.—Pridie non. Januarii admissus est frater Rogerus, precentor domus Sancti Petri de Burgo, ad curam custodie domus sanctimonialium Sancti Michaelis, Stanford, per litteras Abbatis de Burgo patentes." Concerning the church of Paston, the patronage of which was owned by the convent, the *Rotuli* says on p. 181 and p. 195 "presentatus per Abbatem et conventum de Burgo," but on p. 211 and p. 229 "presentatus per Abbatem et conventum de Burgo Sancti Petri." Subdiaconus Bartholomeus de Staunford is on p. 195 "presentatus per Abbatem et conventum de Burgo ad ecclesiam de Paston" and also on p. 262 "ad ecclesiam de Fletton." But to these two churches Rogerus de la Grave or de Grava is on p. 211 "presentatus per Abbatem et conventum de Burgo Sancti Petri" and on p. 272 "per Abbatem et conventum de Burgo." In some other cases, too, we find in the *Rotuli Grosseteste* that "de Burgo" is used instead of "de Burgo Sancti Petri," e.g. in the notices concerning the churches of Makeseye (p. 169), Bernack (p. 181), and Castre (p. 203). These examples are sufficient to show that it is quite possible that Grosseteste used "de Burgo" for Peterborough in the letter mentioned above.

Further, Harrison Thomson says about St. Edmundsbury that Grosseteste's relations with this abbey were "close and scholarly." We have a record of his exchange of manuscripts with this monastery in Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 7. This manuscript was given to the monks of Bury St. Edmunds in return for a copy of the Hexameron of St. Basil, and it has a note in Grosseteste's own hand: "Memoriale magistri Roberti Grosseteste pro exameron Basilii." Thomson thinks that the transaction must have taken place shortly after 1240-1242: "Then, toward the end of his life, in arranging for disposition of his library, he excepted this volume from the general gift to the Oxford Franciscans, and remembered the Bury gift of some years before. *Memoriale* could well bear this construction, and most of the notes, though identical in

abbey "quarto kalendas Octobris" in 1238 and probably after the Council of London in 1237, where the necessity of the dedication of the churches was established. Thus it is most probable that it was written late in the year 1237 or early in 1238.

This letter shows how intimate the relations were between Grosseteste and the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough. We also know that Abbot Walter de St. Edmund owned one manuscript of a work of the Bishop—*Templum Domini*.¹¹⁷ Harrison Thomson places the composition of the work after 1235.¹¹⁸ Thus it must be written some time between the years 1235 and 1245, when the abbot died.

When we turn to Robert Grosseteste's ideas it does not seem fantastic, especially for two reasons, to connect an optical illusion in architecture with his scientific works. First, he very often speaks of the necessity of verifying the individual scientific thesis by experiments.¹¹⁹ Second, he often uses metaphors from optics, architecture, and the like in his theological writings.¹²⁰

In the letter to the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough just mentioned, he says: "These sentences I have extracted from the treatise I have mentioned, and have placed them before you, in order that you may see in them, as in a small mirror, a miniature reflection of the form of monastic life. Just as young maidens delight in a variety of mirrors, so do your virgin minds find enjoyment in the contemplation of intellectual presentments of their own state. In the Rule of St. Benedict you have been able frequently to contemplate, as in the plane surface of a large mirror, the beauty of the life you lead. You have also been able to do so in the yet brighter mirror supplied by the rules of St. Basil, and by the example and teaching of the lives of the Fathers; and if, therefore, you turn for a little while to look at this small mirror brought from a foreign region of the earth, the task ought not to be thought tedious by you."¹²¹

In a letter to "Magistris Oxoniae in Theologia Regentibus" he says: "Experienced builders of edifices are diligent in seeing that all the stones to be placed in the foundations really are foundation-stones, that is to say that they are suitable and apt by their solidity to support the weight of the building to be erected upon them. And ye are builders of the house of God, ye who erect it upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets with Christ Jesus himself as the corner-stone."¹²²

And in *De Cura Pastoralis*, addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln ca. 1239, concerning the right of the bishop to visit the chapter of his cathedral Church, he also borrowed arguments from art and artificers: "In the case of all the arts and all artists it is necessary to see what the

detailed characteristics, would best be construed as written in the earlier years of the person who wrote the *memoriale*, for the handwriting of this note shows a certain lack of dash and freedom." (*Op.cit.*, p. 26n.)

But Beryl Smalley is of another opinion about the key-word: "The *Memoriale* written on the fly-leaf in Grosseteste's hand means 'pledge.' A good parallel is the chapter order of the prior and convent of Durham, 1235, forbidding that any book shall be lent, except on receipt of a pledge of equal value. Grosseteste evidently failed to return his borrowed book, since it is not listed in the later records of the books at Bury." ("A Collection of Paris Lectures of the later Twelfth Century in the MS Pembroke College, Cambridge 7," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vi, 1938, p. 104.)

The later part of Grosseteste's letter to the *Abbati et conventui de Burgo*, where he points out the necessity of an immediate dedication of the abbey, gives us a starting-point for discussing the question of addressee. E. Franceschini suggests in his study, *Roberto Grossetesta, vescovo di Lincoln e le sue traduzioni latine (Atti del Reale Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, XCIII:2)*, Venice, 1933, p. 49, that the letter was written "ai primi anni dell'episcopato di Roberto" and Harrison Thomson (*op.cit.*, p. 71) accepts this view saying "1238-1240." The year 1238 is the year of Grosseteste's dedication of Peterborough Abbey, but we know nothing about a dedication or rededication of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds during

this time. As Grosseteste was the bishop of the diocese in which Peterborough was situated, and as the Council of London had confirmed in 1237 that "if any churches shall not have been dedicated within two years from the time of their completion, they shall be interdicted from the performance of mass" (T. Craddock, *Peterborough Cathedral*, p. 57), I think it is most probable that the letter was addressed to the *Abbati et conventui de Burgo Sancti Petri*, i.e. Peterborough.

117. M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library*, Oxford, 1926, p. 22, No. 84 and Index, p. 102.

118. *Op.cit.*, p. 138.

119. A. C. Crombie, *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science, 1100-1700*, Oxford, 1953, pp. 81-90.

120. Concerning the problem of whether Grosseteste taught the Franciscans in Oxford in natural science, Stewart C. Easton in his book, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science* (New York, 1952, pp. 208f.), says: "I think the most probable conclusion is not that Grosseteste set up any such curriculum for the friars, but that Grosseteste himself, of whom Bacon had heard much and whose writings he had read, used mathematical and optical illustrations for his classes in theology."

121. *Epistolae*, No. LVII, pp. 177f. The translation from F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, p. 166.

122. *Epistolae*, No. CXXIII, p. 346. After St. Paul, Eph. 2:20.

director of the souls ought to do, that is to say the artist of all artists, if I may say so. An artist in gold and brass ought also to recognize the difference between pure and impure gold. And in order that brass may not be taken for gold or impure gold for pure when a vessel is to be made for the honour and service of a king, he ought diligently by all manner of investigations with divers experiments to test the mass of metal given him to work, which to the eye looks like gold, and by examining it try to discover whether it is gold or brass."¹²³ Perhaps his known familiarity with such things inspired the legend about Grosseteste, related by Richard of Bardney in 1503, that Grosseteste once made a brazen head "which was able to tell the truth."¹²⁴

Not only in the sciences but also in literature there are traces of Grosseteste's influence. Thus Alexander Birkenmajer¹²⁵ has pointed out that the French poet Richard Fournival (1201-ca. 1260) in his Latin poem *De vetula* must have been influenced by Grosseteste's scientific work *De luce*.

In his study *De iride* Grosseteste shows his great interest in optical illusions.¹²⁶ He divides optics into three parts. The first one, he says, is concerned with vision (*de visu*), the second one with mirrors (*de speculis*). The third part had been "untouched and unknown among us until the present time." And he continues: "This part of optics, when well understood, shows us how we may make things a very long distance off appear as if placed very close, and large near things appear very small, and how we may make small things placed at a distance appear any size we want, so that it may be possible for us to read the smallest letters at incredible distances, or to count sand, or grains, or seeds, or any sort of minute objects."¹²⁷

If we now analyse in detail the Peterborough ceiling (Fig. 2) and its optical illusion, we find that the farther angle of each diamond-shaped figure in the side rows seems to be larger the more distant it is from the spectator, until at a certain distance this angle appears equal to 180 degrees, both the farther sides of the quadrangle then seeming to form one straight line, and the figure seeming to be not a quadrangle but a triangle. Thus the point of the farther angle in the quadrangle seems to be the middle of the straight long side of the triangle and to be at an equal distance from the spectator as the ends of the same side, this because of the breaking of the canted ceiling, the visual angle, and the great distance.

In this connection I should like to quote some optical laws from works by Grosseteste and his follower Roger Bacon.¹²⁸ Grosseteste says, after Euclid and Ptolemy, "that the size, position and arrangement according to which a thing is seen depends on the size of the angle through which it is seen and the position and arrangement of the rays, and that a thing is made invisible not by great distance, except by accident, but by the smallness of the angle of vision."¹²⁹ In his *Opus majus* Roger Bacon says: "Distance is perceived and determined if it is moderate by a continuous series of sensible objects lying between the eye and the remote object."¹³⁰ And further: "When the gibbosity of the arc of a circle is presented to the sight, although the middle of the gibbosity of the circle is nearer the sight than the ends of the arc at the diameter, yet this nearness is not apparent to the sight because of the excessive distance; and for this reason the approach of the part nearer the sight is hidden, and the gibbosity itself is removed in the judgment of vision; wherefore the curved line will appear straight."¹³¹

The other two sides of the quadrangle are in reality nearer the spectator when they reach the joining point, but in the farther part of the ceiling they seem to go upwards so that the joining

123. *Epistolae*, No. CXXVII, p. 395.

124. J. C. Russell, "Phases of Grosseteste's Intellectual Life," *The Harvard Theological Review*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 103f. He concludes: "This myth apparently developed about Grosseteste as a result of his science just as tales were told about Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay in the next generation."

125. Alexander Birkenmajer, "Robert Grosseteste and Richard Fournival," *Medievalia et humanistica*, v, 1948, pp. 36-41.

126. Ludwig Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert*

Grosseteste, pp. 73f.

127. L. Baur, *op.cit.*, p. 4. The translation from A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

128. Cf. A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, pp. 139ff.

129. L. Baur, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

130. *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon. A Translation by R. B. Burke*, II, Philadelphia, 1928, p. 523.

131. *ibid.*, p. 525.

point of these two sides seems to be straight above the long side of the triangle. This happens because the framework, which surrounds the figure, is narrower the nearer it comes to the top of the triangle but is also due to the excessive distance. Thus the beams seem to rise from the walls just as in an ordinary beam-roof.

Another important part of the construction of this ceiling is, as we have already seen, that the outer edges of each plank forming the lozenge lap over the preceding plank, until the last addition forms a diamond in the center. This means that one sees the nearer sides of the framework much better than the farther sides. It is also the nearer sides of the framework of each triangle or quadrangle which form the optical illusion.

As we have already seen, Grosseteste emphasized the importance of experimental verification in natural science. If we study the optical illusion in Peterborough as an optical experiment, we notice that it is built up of simple geometrical figures only. Roger Bacon, who accepted Grosseteste's theory of experimental verification, says, "It is necessary to verify the matter of the world by demonstrations set forth in geometrical lines."¹³²

As a work of art a painted ceiling such as the one in Peterborough belongs to both painting and architecture. But in this particular case the decoration of the roof is especially important for the knowledge it provides of the architecture. And the optical illusion, though painted, is not a problem in the art of painting or in pictorial art but in the art of architecture. Usually we think of optical illusions in fine art in connection with *perspectiva artificialis*.¹³³ Of course the creator of the illusion in the nave of Peterborough Cathedral must have known the optical rules of perspective. Thus we can speak about a *perspectiva naturalis* or *perspectiva communis*, but the Peterborough ceiling has nothing to do with the *perspectiva artificialis* of the Renaissance.

THE DOUBLE ARCADES IN THE CHOIR OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

The foundation of the Gothic Cathedral of Lincoln took place in 1192¹³⁴ and Bishop Hugh of Avalon, later canonized as St. Hugh, was the strong man behind the work. But he died only eight years later, on November 16, 1200. In my opinion he could not have managed to accomplish much more than the easternmost chapel before he died.¹³⁵ And from that time to 1217 they could probably not work much on the Cathedral because of vacancies on the episcopal throne, interdicts, and the civil war between the king and the barons. Bishop Hugh de Welles was nominated to the see as early as 1209, but he soon went into exile in France. Before returning to his diocese after the civil war the bishop had to pay a fine of one thousand marks to the Pope and one hundred marks to the king because he had been on the barons' side against the king during the war.¹³⁶ After returning to Lincoln, Hugh seems to have pushed forward very actively in building the Cathedral. It was then, I think, that the new arcades were added to the old, single ones, thus producing the present double arcades of St. Hugh's Choir. But Paul Frankl is of another opinion. He says, "The vaults of the side aisles go back to the first enterprise in 1192, and . . . the walls were therefore not strengthened after the disaster of 1239. Hence, the double arcades in these walls also date from the year 1192."¹³⁷ Certainly Frankl is right in saying that the walls were not strengthened after 1239, but I think that there is no reason for believing that the double

¹³². A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

¹³³. Concerning the terms see Erwin Panofsky, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory. The Pierpont Morgan Library Codex MA. 1139* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XIII), London, 1940, pp. 97f.

¹³⁴. Under this year the *Irish Annals of Multifernan* says: "Jacitur fundamentum ecclesiae Lincolniae." It is printed in the *Tracts of the Irish Archaeological Society*, II, 1842. Cf. Dimock's Preface in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, VII (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, No. 21), London, 1877,

p. xl, n.

¹³⁵. A. F. Kendrick, *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln. A History and Description of its Fabric and a List of the Bishops* (Bell's Cathedral Series), London, 1898, p. 20. Cf. Addendum to this article.

¹³⁶. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, p. 32 and Rogerus de Wendover, *Chronica, sive flores historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe, III, London, 1841, p. 33.

¹³⁷. Paul Frankl, "The 'Crazy' Vaults of Lincoln Cathedral," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, p. 97.

arcades were built complete at one time. All the profiles on the inner or back arcades are very carefully carved even where the wall of the outer arcades completely covers the moldings (Fig. 9). And there are two entirely different walls up to a height of about ten or twelve feet from the ground or to the string course beneath the window sills.¹³⁸ In my opinion these facts indicate that a wall with single arcades was built up to that height, and then, due to a change of plans, the outer or front arcades were built, and a thicker wall above. It is difficult to say when this change in the planning of the Cathedral would have occurred. Perhaps it happened ca. 1218, when work was resumed after the civil war. But at any rate, in my view, the double arcades are not an original feature, but an afterthought. The reason must have been to strengthen some of the walls, not necessarily because of a change in the plans of the vaulting. However, when they had begun to build the double arcades, these could have seemed to have an intrinsic value, and thus could have been used as a decoration on walls other than those which really needed to be strengthened.

Of course, the new arcades could have been placed in front of the old ones in such a way that one column stood immediately in front of another. That would have been a more normal arrangement. But when the architect built the arcades with staggered columns in the way he did he must have had a special reason. How is one to interpret this very exceptional feature?

If we look at the arcades when walking in the side aisles, we see them at an oblique angle. In that case the arches of the two arcades, the inner pointed and the outer trefoiled, do not seem to be close together, which they really are, but seem to have a narrow walk between them. The eye measures the distance between the columns of the two arcades without noticing that they are not placed in front of each other (Fig. 6). This impression grows stronger because the outer or front columns are made higher than the inner ones. This effect is furthered by the circumstance that the forms of the arches in the two arcades are arranged in such a way that together they seem to form an arch in perspective view. Something of the same effect can be seen in a drawing of about 1235 by Villard de Honnecourt, where he shows the arches on the towers of Laon Cathedral in a kind of perspective view.¹³⁹ In St. James' Chapel of Lincoln Cathedral, in the north arm of the great transept, the architect who built the wall with the simple arcades had already used the trefoiled arches; and the new architect, when he came to build the front arches, therefore had to change to the simple pointed arches to get the play between the two different kinds of arches, as in the other double arcades (Fig. 8). But here he did not obtain the optical illusion at all.

Through the arrangement in Lincoln the back row of columns seems to be farther away than it really is and the distance greater between the two rows of columns. There is only one more example of the double arcade in English architecture. That is in the triforium of Beverley Minster, of about 1230, most probably derived from that of Lincoln Cathedral.¹⁴⁰ But here there is no afterthought as in Lincoln, and in consequence of that the double arcade forms only *one* wall and there are no moldings covered by the outer arcade. In Beverley there is also a quite different arrangement with the rear arcade much lower. The effect in the perspective view from the floor is, however, similar to that at Lincoln thanks to the difference in level. In Fig. 7 this effect would have been stronger if the triforium really had been photographed from the floor. It is interesting to notice the change in arrangement and in level of the double arcades at Lincoln and Beverley.

About the same effect can be studied also when looking straight frontally at the arcades, and it is especially strong in the south central transept of Lincoln Cathedral, in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, where the old arrangement still remains, with openings over the columns in the front

138. Cf. H. Parker, "Architectural History of St. Hugh's Choir in Lincoln Cathedral," *Archaeologia*, XLVII, 1882, p. 44; F. Bond and W. Watkins, *op.cit.*, p. 37n; and E. Venerables, "Notes of an Examination of the Architecture of the Choir of Lincoln Cathedral, with a View to Determining the Chronology of St. Hugh's Work," *Archaeological Journal*, XXXII, 1875,

pp. 233f.

139. Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt*, fig. 75.

140. Charles Hiatt, *Beverley Minster, an Illustrated Account of its History and Fabric*, London, 1898, p. 78 and figs. pp. 69, 73, 75, 106.

row through which one can see the top of the pointed arches in the rear arcades. Thus one sees not only that the columns and their capitals are lower in the back row than in the front row but also that the arches are lower, and thus the whole back arcade seems to be farther away. This is a kind of optical illusion, similar to that in the nave of Peterborough.

Perhaps Robert Grosseteste was the originator of an optical illusion at Lincoln as well as at Peterborough. He had close relations with Lincoln even before he was elected bishop there. For instance he probably received his early education at Lincoln.¹⁴¹ He is mentioned for the first time in a charter of St. Hugh, probably at some time between 1186 and 1189. Soon after 1214 Grosseteste probably became *Magister scholarum* in Oxford in the diocese of Lincoln. On April 25, 1225, the church of Abbotsley was presented to him by Bishop Hugh de Welles,¹⁴² and in 1229 he was Archdeacon of Leicester. He also held a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, probably that of St. Margaret of Leicester, which he retained when he resigned his livings in 1232 because of illness.¹⁴³

A. C. Crombie concludes, "The shorter works on optics and astronomy, and the commentary on the Physics, Grosseteste most probably composed between 1215 and 1235."¹⁴⁴ The optical illusion in the double arcades is of such a simple kind that it is quite possible for Grosseteste to have inspired it at the beginning of his studies in optics.

As I have said, the double arcades were, in my opinion, an afterthought and a rebuilding of a wall already partly erected. When the architect began to erect the other walls of the great transept, he built a wall with a single arcade which was of the same thickness as the previous wall with the double arcade. This happened, I think, ca. 1220. The first altar in the great transept of which we know anything is that of St. Denis, which was in existence by 1221. On April 29 of that year, in the presence of Bishop Hugh de Welles, a certain Robert Camville gave all rights to his property in Stodfald to the dean and the chapter for the benefit of the chaplain of St. Denis' altar.¹⁴⁵ About the same year, or at some time between 1215 and 1223, the chaplain of the same altar is mentioned in two other charters.¹⁴⁶ The next altar to be mentioned is that of St. Nicholas, to the north of the preceding altar. In 1223 or 1224 we have the ordination by Peter of Hungary, Canon of Lincoln, of a chantry at this altar.¹⁴⁷ The regulation, mentioned in the charter, seems to show that this chantry was a new creation at that time.

From the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh* we know that at the time his work was written most of the walls of the great transept were already built. The *Metrical Life* must have been written at some time between 1220 and 1235, because the canonization of St. Hugh in 1220 is mentioned, and it appears that Bishop Hugh de Welles was still alive.¹⁴⁸ In it the two rose windows of the transept are described as follows:

A brilliant double procession of windows stretches out riddles before the eyes, inscribed both as citizens of the heavenly city and as arms whereby they conquer the Stygian tyrant. And two are greater, like two lights, their circular blaze, looking upon the directions of north and south, surpasses through its double light all the other windows. The others can be compared to the common stars, but these two are one like the sun, the other like the moon. In this manner these two candles lighten the head of the church, and they imitate the rainbow with living and various colours, not imitate indeed, but excel, for the sun makes a rainbow when it is reflected in the clouds: these two sparkle without sun, glitter without cloud.

The twin windows, which supply the circular blaze, are the two eyes of the church, and rightly the greater of these seems to be the bishop and the smaller the dean. The North is Satan and the South the Holy Ghost,

141. A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

142. *Liber antiquus de ordinationibus vicariorum tempore Hugonis Welles, Lincolnensis episcopi, 1209-1235*, Lincoln, 1888, and *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, episcopi Lincolnensis A.D. MCCIX-MCCXXXV*, III, ed. F. N. Davis (*The Lincoln Record Society*, IX), Lincoln, 1914, p. 48. Cf. *Epistolae*, p. XXXIV and above note 111.

143. *Epistolae*, No. VIII, pp. 43f.

144. A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

145. I. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 119.

146. *Registrum antiquissimum*, IV, Hereford, 1937, pp. 86f.

147. *ibid.*, pp. 27f.

148. *Metrical Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln*, ed. J. F. Dimock, Lincoln, 1860, the Introduction.

which the two eyes look upon. For the bishop looks upon the South to invite, but indeed the dean upon the North to repel. The one sees to be saved, the other sees not to be lost. The brow of the church looks with these eyes at the candles of Heaven and the darkness of Lethe.¹⁴⁹

As there is in the northern rose window a representation of "the body of St. Hugh carried into Lincoln on November 23, 1200," it seems most probable that the stained glass was made after the canonization in 1220, and Lafond adds: "Moreover, the style of drapery would perfectly agree with the date suggested by the foundation of a chantry in the nave (1235)."¹⁵⁰ But the rose windows must have had stained glass before that date, as we have seen above. The master mason of this time seems to have been Master Michael, mentioned in a charter of ca. 1230. Hill says about him: "Master Michael, master of the works, held land in the parish of St. Michael on the Mount of Newhouse Abbey: he had a charter from the abbey which he lost during the war."¹⁵¹ Thus he must have lost the first charter in 1217 at the latest. He witnessed two other charters in the years 1220-1230: "Hiis testibus . . . magistro Michaelae. magistro operis Linc' ecclesie" and "... magistro Michaelae magistro fabrice ecclesie Linc'."¹⁵²

THE LINCOLN CHAPTER HOUSE

Most of the historians and art historians of Lincoln Cathedral have dated the chapter house 1220 to 1235 (Fig. 10). The reason is not primarily stylistic, many of them referring to the *Metrical Life*. Thus J. H. Srawley says: "From the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh* we learn that the building was in progress at the time when the author wrote (1220-1235) and he attributes to St. Hugh the beginning of the work."¹⁵³ Frankl dates the chapter house to 1220 but the nave to 1235: "At least it seems logical to consider the chapter house of Lincoln of 1220 and the nave of 1235, or a little later, to be the work of Noyers' pupil."¹⁵⁴ Harvey, on the other hand, considers them to be exactly contemporary and dates both of them 1220-1250.¹⁵⁵

In the *Metrical Life* the text of the part which here interests us is as follows:

De crucifixo, et tabulâ aureâ in introitu chori.
Introitumque chori majestas aurea pingit:
Et propriè propriâ crucifixus imagine Christus
Exprimitur, vitaeque suae progressus ad unquem
Insinuat ibi. Nec solum crux vel imago,
Immo columnarum sex, lignorumque duorum
Ampla superficies, obrizo fulgurat auro.

De capitulo.
Astant ecclesiae capitolia, qualia nunquam
Romanus possedit apex; spectabile quorum
Vix opus inciperet nummosa pecunia Croesi.
Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra
Porticus; interius spatium patet orbiculare,
Materiâ tentans templum Salomonis et arte.
Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo.
Sic igitur tanto Lincolnia patre superbit
Qui tot eam titulis ex omni parte beavit.¹⁵⁶

This part of the *Metrical Life* is only known through a copy from ca. 1250, now in the Bodleian Library (ms, Laud, 515). The better and older copy, in the British Museum (Bib. Reg., 13, A, iv),

149. *ibid.*, verses 897-909 and 937-945. The English translation from H. Thurston, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Translated from French Carthusian Life*. London, 1898.

150. Jean Lafond, "The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century," *Archaeological Journal*, CIII, for 1946, 1947, pp. 137f.

151. I. W. F. Hill, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

152. *Registrum antiquissimum*, VI, pp. 54 and 57.

153. J. H. Srawley, *The Story of Lincoln Minster*, London, 1933, p. 44.

154. Paul Frankl, *op.cit.*, p. 106. Cf. also p. 103.

155. *The English Cathedrals*. Photographed by H. Felton and with a text by J. Harvey, London, 1950, p. 39.

156. *Metrical Life*, verses 950-965.

of about 1230, or roughly contemporary with the lost original manuscript, has no headings at all; and perhaps it may be inferred from this that the different parts of the poem were possibly still more united in the original than in the copy of ca. 1250. (The two pages containing most of the description of the Cathedral in this better manuscript have been lost.)¹⁵⁷

After the description of the windows, the pillars, and so on, and the allegorical interpretations of these features, there follows the *Consummatio totius allegoriae*. And after that there is a description of the principal parts of the building: "Introitumque chori majestas aurea pingit." The next part, which interests us especially, has in the later copy the heading *De capitulo* and begins as follows: "Astant ecclesiae capitolia. . . ." *De capitulo* has been translated as "Concerning the chapter house," and the beginning of the text, reasonably, as, "The chapter house stands by the church . . ." And this translation seems quite logical, especially as the poem continues "interius spatium patet orbiculare." But there are some problems which are very difficult, if not impossible, to explain if the translation is made thus. The plural form is certainly easy to explain. It is only a poetical plural of *capitolium*, of a kind not unusual at least in classical Latin.¹⁵⁸ But the situation of the chapter house in relation to its surroundings is not such as to explain the comparison with *Romanus apex*. It also seems strange that the chapter house, and only that, is said to be so remarkable that even Croesus could only have begun such a work. It is also difficult to explain the plural forms in the following sentence: "Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra/Porticus." The chapter house has only one *introitus*, which forms one *quadra porticus*.

It is also very strange that the author could call the chapter house "the temple of Solomon." So far as its source is concerned, this image of the temple of Solomon could have been borrowed by the author of the *Metrical Life* from the *Magna vita S. Hugonis*: "In hoc quoque monte, tanquam magnificus pacificus Salomon, templum gloriosissimum aedificaturus."¹⁵⁹ Or, perhaps, the joint source is the formula for the dedication of the churches.¹⁶⁰ Another contemporary writer is Sicardus (d. 1215), who in his *Mitræ seu officiis ecclesiasticis summa* says: "Tabernaculum vertitur in templum, quia de militia curritur ad triumphum. Templum enim quod Salomon aedificavit, et populus in patria et pace possedit, gloriae templum significat quod a vero Salomone pacificio de vivis lapidibus constructum est in coelesti Hierusalem, id est in visione pacis, ubi Ecclesia perenni pace resultat."¹⁶¹ But, as to appropriateness of the image, in all these cases the temple of Solomon is an image for the church itself, and, in the first case, for Lincoln Cathedral.

The last problem of the text is found in the statement that the building (this temple of Solomon) was begun by the first Hugh, for most art historians have hesitated to date the chapter house before 1200.

But all these problems, I suggest, can be easily solved, if we emend *De capitulo* as *De caputio*, that is, being translated, "Concerning the chevet."¹⁶² Thus, following the description of the entrance of the choir the author says, if we translate this section: "The chevet [*Capitolium* = *sumum caput*¹⁶³] of the church stands near by [viz. to the part just described], such as the Roman summit never possessed. Scarcely the monied wealth of Croesus could have begun its remarkable work. Evidently its entrances are like square porticos. Within there lies open before the eyes a rounded space, touching Solomon's temple both in material and art. If the perfection

157. *ibid.*, the Introduction.

158. Cf. e.g. *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, Art.: *Capitolium*.

159. *Magna vita S. Hugonis Lincolnensis* (*Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi scriptores*, No. 37), p. 113.

160. See *Breviarium Romanorum*: Communa dedicationis ecclesiae, Lectio i-iii. My thanks are due to Professor Erwin Panofsky for drawing my attention to the dedication formula.

161. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CCXIII, pp. 15D-16A. Cf. J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, 1902, pp. 108f.

162. du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, T. 2, ed. nova, Niort, 1883, Art.: *Capitulum*. "7. Capitulum, Idem, ut videtur, quod *Capitium* 2 ut ibidem dictum est." And under "2. Capitium, Capicium" there is among other examples: "Hoc anno (1231) coepit Odo Abbas renovare *Capitulum* Ecclesiae B. Dionysii Areopagitæ, et perfecit illud usque ad finem chori." (The italics are mine.)

163. Concerning the translation of 'Capitolium' = 'Sumum caput regionis'; see du Cange, *op.cit.*: Art.: *Capitolium* 2.

of these things indeed continues, the work of the first Hugh will be perfected under the second Hugh."

"Summum caput" of the church is the chevet. It is easy to understand the comparison with the Roman summit, *Capitolium*, the temple on the top of a hill. Lincoln Cathedral is situated in a similar place and the choir of the Cathedral must have been visible far and wide.¹⁶⁴ But the Cathedral is also in a real sense situated on a Roman summit, as the greatest part of the church is built within the wall of the Roman city of Lincoln.¹⁶⁵ When the poet says concerning *ecclesiae capitolia*, "qualia nunquam Romanus possedit apex," this is literally true, since this special part of the Cathedral is not really situated on the "apex Romanus" but just outside the old Roman wall. In contrast to the choir, the chapter house is situated on the flat ground behind the Cathedral and is not visible from the lower part of the town. Thus the level of the chapter house suggests no comparison with the Roman summit.

Only the choir, I think, or the whole Cathedral could reasonably be mentioned together with Croesus. And in reality its entrances from the great transept, the choir side-aisles, are like square porticos. After the great disaster in 1237 or 1239 the screens between the side-aisles and the nave of the choir were built. Perhaps even before the disaster there were such screens, which were destroyed when the tower fell.

Inside the "square porticos" there is a rounded space. Especially in comparison with the common type of English cathedral choirs, that of Lincoln could easily be considered "round." It is useful to recall Richard Krautheimer's words in his "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'":¹⁶⁶ "Indeed it recalls a well-known phenomenon, the peculiar lack of precision in mediaeval descriptions not only of architectural patterns but of all geometrical forms. When discussing the elements of geometry, a somewhat pedestrian but usually precise scholar as Isidore of Seville becomes completely vague. A sphere is, in his words, a round figure which is alike in all its parts; . . . Even such an outstanding authority on geometry as Gerbert is quite unprecise so far as the description of geometrical shapes is concerned. . . . Similarly the round (or polygonal) shape of a church evidently had some symbolical significance and again it did not make any great difference whether the ground plan of an edifice formed a regular circle or an octagon or a dodecagon or any related pattern."

Thus we have no right to expect a strictly geometrical correctness in the descriptions in such a poem as the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh*. Here in Lincoln "the rounded space" is five eighths of an octagon.

Finally, concerning the choir, but hardly concerning the chapter house, it could be truly said: "If the perfection of these things indeed continues, the work of the first Hugh will be perfected under the second Hugh."

Thus we conclude that the chapter house is not mentioned at all in the *Metrical Life*. But do we have any signs of a chapter house before about 1235 in any other documents?

In the accounts of Jordan de Ingham in 1271 there is mention of "the little chapter house."¹⁶⁷ This cannot be the present, decagonal one, as that is the largest in the country. This expression in the accounts makes one think that there also existed another one, the "large chapter house." The little chapter house was probably the older one, and it is not impossible that it was the chapel which was later named "capella beatae Mariae Virginis."¹⁶⁸ This was situated in the north choir transept

164. See I. W. F. Hill, *op.cit.*, fig. 16, p. 203 with the plan of Lincoln ca. 1200, with the level differences marked out.

165. I. A. Richmond, "The Roman City of Lincoln," *Archaeological Journal*, CIII, for 1946, 1947, fig. 5 between p. 28 and p. 29.

166. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, pp. 7ff.

167. J. H. Srawley, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

168. Often it is impossible to determine whether the documents refer to the chapter or to the chapter house. See e.g. *Registrum antiquissimum*, IV, p. 215, No. 1372, a letter from ca. 1210-1215. Cf. the register p. 309, where the translation "chapter house" is given.

on the east side and it had not the apsidal form but the rectangular. T. J. Willson, writing in 1894, says of it that it was reputed to have had stalls.¹⁶⁹ It is now pulled down, but the foundations of the rectangular building are still to be seen. In the eighteenth century the architect Essex rebuilt the chapel as apsidal, which he believed to have been the original form. But, as Srawley points out,¹⁷⁰ it seems to be most probable that this building was originally rectangular and also that it may have been the "little chapter house" mentioned above.

As John Harvey has so clearly pointed out,¹⁷¹ it seems most probable that Master Alexander, who is mentioned at Lincoln Cathedral from about 1235, is the same architect who earlier, about 1224, was the master of the choir of Worcester Cathedral. Harvey evidently considers that Master Alexander directed the building in both places at the same time since he dates the Lincoln chapter house about 1220-1235 and says that it is probable that the work is by him. But now, when we have no documentary reason for such an early date, it seems more likely to me that Alexander went from Worcester to Lincoln about 1235, when he is first mentioned in the Lincoln documents and when he had probably finished his work at Worcester. We notice that Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235, was a great friend of Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester from 1237. In agreement with the documents assigning Master Alexander's work on Lincoln Cathedral to about 1235 and later, this does not contradict the fact that another master mason, Magister Michael, is mentioned ca. 1217-ca. 1230.¹⁷²

The chapter house at Lincoln is a building of great art-historical importance. It is, even with the later date given above, the first of the polygonal English chapter houses, earlier than those at Lichfield, Westminster Abbey, Salisbury, and Wells. Harvey in his stimulating book on English cathedrals¹⁷³ has explained the polygonal form as an evolution from the round, Norman chapter house at Worcester with ten bays, which Master Alexander could have studied when he worked at Worcester Cathedral about 1224. Certainly Harvey is right, but I wish to supplement his view on one point.

Consider that we have this earlier, and round, chapter house at Worcester with its ten bays. As Harvey says about Master Alexander, "From Worcester's circular chapter house he acquired the idea of the great polygonal venture at Lincoln, which was to be the unsurpassed standard for England."¹⁷⁴ But at the time at which this new chapter house was begun, i.e. about 1235, Grosseteste was Bishop of Lincoln. We have already seen two examples of the connections between his scientific writings and architectural shaping in Peterborough and Lincoln. In his work *De Luce seu de inchoatione formarum* he says:

The highest body, which is the simplest of all bodies, contains four constituents, namely form, matter, composition and the composite. Now the form being the simplest holds the position of unity. But matter on account of its twofold potency, namely its susceptibility to impressions and its receptiveness of them, and also on account of its denseness which belongs fundamentally to matter but which is primarily and principally characteristic of a thing which is a duality, is rightly allotted the nature of a duality. But composition has a trinity in itself because there appears in it informed matter and materialized form and that which is distinctive of the composition, which is found in every composite as a third constituent distinct from matter and form. And that which is the composite proper, over and above these three constituents, is classed as a quaternary. There is, therefore, in the first body, in which all other bodies exist virtually, a quaternary and therefore the number of the remaining bodies is basically not more than ten. For the unity of the form, the duality of the matter, the trinity of the composition and the quaternary of the composite when they are added make a total of ten. On this account ten is the number of the bodies of the spheres of the world, because the sphere of the elements, although it is divided into four, is nevertheless one by its participation in earthly corruptible nature.

From these considerations it is clear that ten is the perfect number in the universe¹⁷⁵ because every perfect

169. T. J. Willson, "The Tomb of St. Hugh at Lincoln," *Archaeological Journal*, LI, p. 106.

170. J. H. Srawley, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

171. John Harvey, *The English Cathedrals*, pp. 17 and 39.

172. Cf. above p. 262.

173. John Harvey, *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 39, 44f., 91.

174. *The Gothic World, 1100-1600. A Survey of Architecture and Art*, London, New York, Toronto, Sydney, 1950, p. 75.

175. "Numerus universitatis perfectus." This is not to be confused with the "perfect number" of mathematics.

whole has something in it corresponding to form and unity, and something corresponding to matter and duality, something corresponding to composition and trinity, and something corresponding to the composite and quaternity. Nor is it possible to add a fifth to these four. For this reason *every perfect whole is ten*.

On this account it is manifest that only five proportions found in these four numbers, one, two, three, four, are suited to composition and to the harmony that gives stability to every composite. For this reason these five proportions are the only ones that produce harmony in musical melodies, in bodily movements and in rhythmic measures.¹⁷⁶

This work S. Harrison Thomson regards as having been written "early in his career, say 1215-1220."¹⁷⁷ I think it is not only the rounded chapter house at Worcester with the ten bays, studied by Master Alexander, but also these ideas about the number ten, which are the creative condition for the innovation at Lincoln. In the study, reproduced partly above, Grosseteste says that "every perfect whole is ten," that "only five proportions found in these four numbers, one, two, three, four, are suited to composition and to the harmony that gives stability to every composite" and lastly that "these five proportions are the only ones that produce harmony . . . in rhythmic measures."¹⁷⁸ At the time that he wrote this treatise Grosseteste does not seem to have been particularly interested in architecture, but when as a bishop in 1235 he had to take an interest in the building of the Cathedral it seems to me quite possible that this man, who was so extremely interested in experiments, tried to put his aesthetic theories into action.

There are ten sides of the chapter house, and within there are $\frac{10}{2} = 5$ arches on each side of the chapter room and 10 arches on each wall in the anteroom; and the central pillar is surrounded by 10 shafts. The diameter of the chapter room from the middle of one side to the middle of the opposite one is 60 feet. Even the proportions in the building agree with Grosseteste's aesthetics. Thus the length of the building is to the width as 4 to 3. The central pillar is divided into two equal parts, the pillars on each side of the entrance from the anteroom to the hall are divided into four equal parts, where the two lower parts together are of the same height as the arcade story, and the arcade story is half the height of the windows.

THE HIGH VAULTS OF THE LINCOLN CHOIR

By about 1220-1235, when the *Vita Metrica* was written, the Cathedral must have had some of its vaults, because the author says: "With the value of the material the zeal in the art well agrees. For the vaulted roof talks as it were with winged birds, spreading its wide wings, and like to a flying thing it strikes against the clouds, rested upon the solid columns."¹⁷⁹ But the question is which of the vaults are really from this early period?

In his study "The 'Crazy' Vaults of Lincoln Cathedral" Paul Frankl is in my opinion right in viewing the "crazy" vaults not as crazy but as a creation of a special value: "The fact remains that they are born out of the same spirit, that they must have been invented by the same man whose feeling for depth as well as for complication is so strongly expressed in the design of the profiles of the transverse arches and ribs, and in the same manner of those of the trilobes and pointed arches of the double arcade in the wall."¹⁸⁰ However, I do not agree with his view that the eccentric vaults are a part of the original design by Geoffrey de Noyers and built ca. 1210. It is my opinion that, although the choir was certainly originally vaulted, it was not until after the great disaster of 1237 or 1239 that the eccentric vaults were built.

176. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 58f. The English translation from Clare C. Riedl, *Robert Grosseteste on Light (Mediaeval Philosophical Texts in Translation, 1)*, Milwaukee, Wisc., 1942, p. 17. (The italics are mine.) Concerning the idea of harmonic proportions see Rudolf Wittkower, "The Problem of Harmonic Proportion in Architecture," *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, 1949, pp. 89ff.

177. S. Harrison Thomson, *op.cit.*, pp. 108f. Cf. A. C. Crombie, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

178. Cf. Alberti, with reference to Pythagoras: "The numbers by means of which the agreement of sounds affects our ears with delight are the very same which please our eyes and our minds." And further: "We shall therefore borrow all our rules for harmonic relations (*fnitio*) from the musicians, to whom this sort of numbers is extremely well known. . . ." (*De re aed.*, ix, 5.) The quotation from R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, p. 97.

179. Verses 862-865.

180. Paul Frankl, *op.cit.*, p. 99.



9. Arcading of south central transept, showing inner arcade with complete profiles, once concealed by outer arcade



10. The chapter house



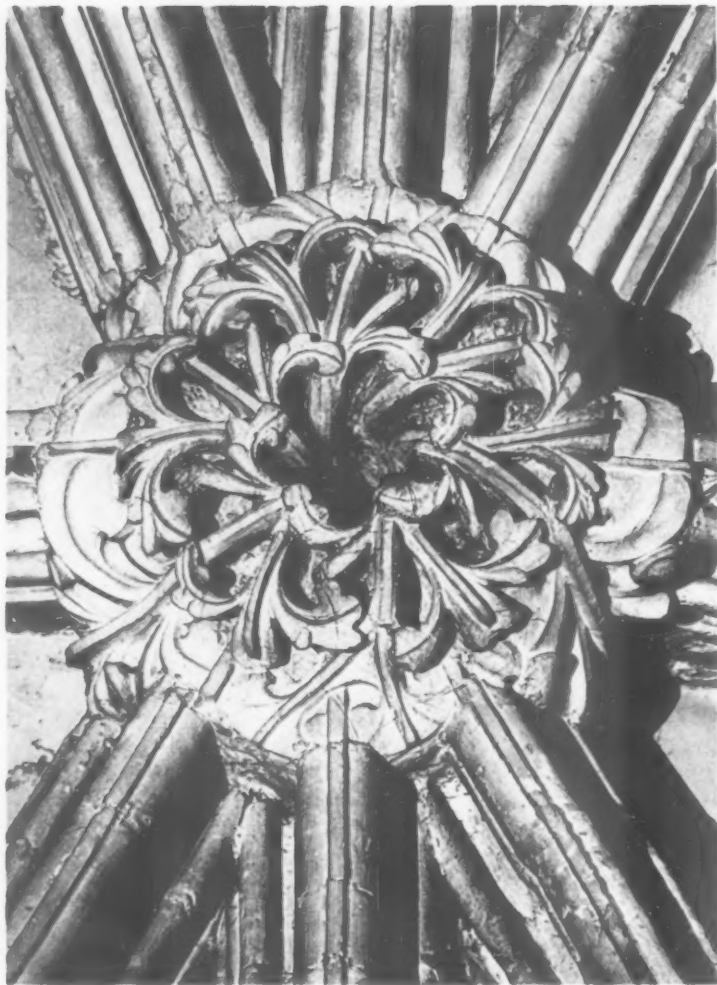
11. The "crazy" vaults of the choir



12. View into the choir from the nave



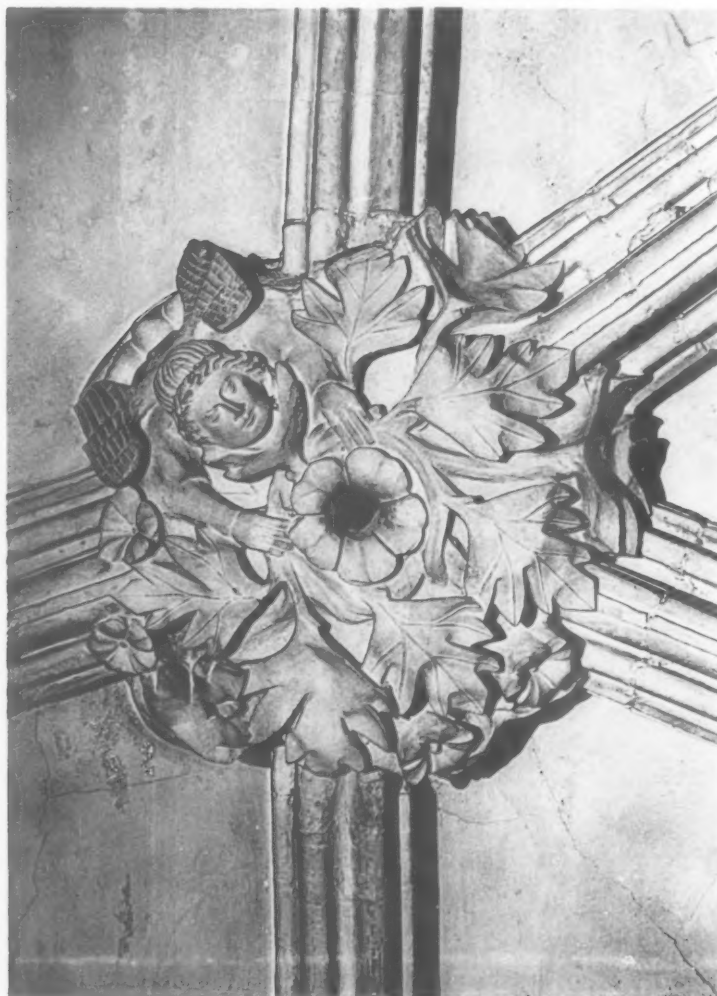
13. Roof boss from the north choir aisle



14. Roof boss from first bay of choir counting from central transept



15. Roof boss from "crazy" vault of fourth bay of choir



16. Roof boss from "crazy" vault of fifth bay of choir

Concerning this disaster we find in the *Annales de Dunstaplia*, for the year 1239: "In the same year a quarrel arose between the Bishop of Lincoln and his chapter concerning the visitation of this chapter and the prebend of the church; and an appeal was made to the Archbishop. Finally they reached agreement through the mediation of friends to send joint envoys to the Pope; and with the assent of the parties to refer the question to the Bishop and Archdeacon of Winchester and the Archdeacon of Sudbury that they might be informed of the result of the negotiations and could decide the matter. And while this was being done the wall of the choir of Lincoln Cathedral behind the seat of the dean collapsed, so that three men were buried beneath the debris. So thereafter the choir celebrated its daily service before the altar until the columns and arches around had been strengthened. But the envoys returned without having accomplished their mission."¹⁸¹

The *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* says for the year 1237: "Collapse of the Church of Lincoln, because of the insolidity of the construction."¹⁸²

In the *Chronica majora* Matthew Paris says concerning the quarrel between the bishop and the chapter of Lincoln in 1239: "When one of the canons, who was an ardent supporter of the cause of the chapter, was preaching a sermon to the people in the middle of this most noble Church of Lincoln and again brought up the complaint about the Bishop's despotic behaviour in the presence of all, and said: 'If we were to be silent, the very stones would cry out for us!,' a large part of the church was rent and collapsed while he was speaking."

And further on in the same chronicle he retells the story: "Because the Bishop of Lincoln chastised his subordinates with the laws of the Church at about the same time, one of these said with sorrow as he preached to the people: 'If we were to be silent, the very stones would cry out for us!,' whereupon the fabric of the new tower of Lincoln Church collapsed, killing those who were beneath it; as a result of this collapse the whole church fell in and was destroyed; and this happened as a sinister presage. But the Bishop strove effectually to restore everything."¹⁸³

Oddly enough only the last description, and of that only the first half, seems to have interested the art historians. Concerning the extent of the damage Francis Bond says: "Fortunately the tower had fallen almost vertically, as did the steeple of Chichester Cathedral in 1861, and only a single adjacent bay had to be rebuilt in part on each side; also the choir piers were strengthened by additional columns of freestone. As for the tower, its piers would have in part to be taken down, but no doubt much of the core of the old piers remains."¹⁸⁴

Evidently Bond's view does not agree with the documents. Therefore in studying the building the following facts have to be considered:

(1) The great crossing and the first bay on each side of it are rebuilt to a great extent, especially the piers.

(2) The great transept triforium is partly repaired.

181. *Annales monastici*, III (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, No. 36), London, 1866, p. 149: "Eodem anno orta est dissensio inter episcopum Lincolniae et capitulum suum, super visitatione capituli ipsius et praebendarum ecclesiae; et appellatum fuit ad archiepiscopum. Tandem mediantibus amicis convenerunt, ut communes nuntios mitterent ad Papam, et de assensu partium impetrarent ad episcopum Wignorniae et archidiaconum Wigorniae et archidiaconum Sudburiensem, ut supra praemissis cogniscerent et ea terminarent. Et dum haec agerentur, facta est ruina muri Lincolnensis ecclesiae secus chorum, post sedem decani, ita quod tres homines prostrati sunt sub ruina; ita quod postmodum chorus celebravit ante altare officium diurnum, donec circumquaque columnae et arcus firmarentur. Sed infecto negotio nuntii redierunt." (The italics are mine.)

182. Ed. J. A. Giles (*Publications of the Caxton Society*),

London, 1845, p. 134.

183. *Op.cit.*, III, p. 529, "Dum unus canonicorum, causam fovens capituli, sermonem faciendo populo in medio illius nobilissimae ecclesiae Lincolnensis, querimoniam reposuit coram omnibus de oppressionibus episcopi, et ait, 'Et si nos taceamus, lapides reclamabunt.' Ad quod verbum, quaedam magna pars ecclesiae corruit dissoluta"; and p. 638, "Circa eadem tempora persequente episcopo Lincolnensi canonibus suos, dum unus eorum sermonem faceret in populo, conquerendo dixit, 'Et si taceamus, lapides pro nobis clamabunt,' corruit opus lapideum novae turris ecclesiae Lincolnensis, homines qui sub ipsa erant conterendo; qua ruina tota ecclesia commota et deteriorata est; et hoc factum est quasi in triste praesagium. Sed episcopus manum correctionis efficaciter apponere satagebat." (The italics are mine.)

184. Bond and Watkins, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

(3) In the choir all piers on both sides are rebuilt except the second ones from the east transept and the southwestern corner pier of the choir transept, which is only partly rebuilt. The east crossing seems to have been entirely rebuilt in connection with the building of the new Angel Choir.

(4) The triforium of the choir between the two transepts is partly rebuilt. In the first bay from the great transept nearly everything is rebuilt, all the free pillars in or between the triforium openings and the corbel between the tops of the arches, perhaps even more.¹⁸⁵ In the next two bays new tympana have been put in outside the old ones, as also in the great transept. In the easternmost bay the great pier between the two big openings has been completely rebuilt.

(5) Probably also the clerestory of the choir is rebuilt. Before the disaster of 1239 the clerestory very likely had the same form as in all the other parts of the church built before that time. There are no reasons why three bays in the choir should be built with one type of clerestory when the choir transept to the east and one bay of the choir and the great transept to the west had another type, if they were built after the original design. The three rebuilt bays of the clerestory in the choir more nearly resemble the clerestory of the nave.

(6) New ribs. C. H. Moore has published two sketches of the transverse and the groin ribs.¹⁸⁶ He does not say whether they are from the high vaults or from the aisle vaults of the choir, but the way in which they are mentioned in the context makes it most probable that he means that they are from the high vaults. As to the ribs in the high vault and those in the vaults of the side aisles, Frankl says, "We cannot escape the fact that both are of the same type, although perhaps different in size," and further, "On the contrary, the profiles in the sexpartite vault of the first bay differ from those in the other bays, although the architect obviously wanted to adapt himself to the given situation."¹⁸⁷ In spite of Frankl's examination I insist that both the transverse ribs and the groin ribs are quite different in the high vaults from those in the side vaults. The groin ribs can easily be studied in photographs of the bosses. There it can also be seen that there is no great difference between the groin ribs in the first, sexpartite, vault and in the "crazy" vaults of the choir. And the same kind of ribs are still used in the vault of after 1256 in the crossing of the choir transept.

(7) Turning to the roof bosses Frankl says, "The matter of the keystones brings us to another point in this argument, which is that while the keystones of the bays with the 'crazy' vaults are of the same style as those in the side aisles, those of the sexpartite vault in the first bay after the crossing are obviously of the style of 1239."¹⁸⁸ But studying the bosses (Figs. 13, 14, 15, and 16), I think there can hardly be any doubt that the style of the bosses in the side aisles is quite different from those in the high vaults and that the former are the older ones. The boss of the sexpartite vault in the choir seems to have been recarved, probably after the disaster of 1239. "It is quite possible for a roof boss to survive a disaster without much damage. In the south choir aisles at Exeter, and in two walks of St. Stephen's cloister at Westminster, there are roof bosses that have come through ruin caused by enemy bombing with hardly any damage," according to the report of C. J. P. Cave.¹⁸⁹ But unlike him I think it must be the outer part of the boss which was destroyed and then recarved. Studying in detail the photo of the boss (Fig. 14) we can see that it is the *lower*, outer part which must be the recarved one. There are also some stems which have been made thinner in that part. One may notice also that the form of the surrounding ribs corresponds well enough with the outer part of the boss to show that the artist tried to join them together when he recarved that part of the corbel.

185. See fig. 3 in Bilson, "Lincoln Cathedral: the New Reading," *Journal of the R.I.B.A.*, 1911, p. 470.

186. C. H. Moore, *The Mediaeval Church Architecture of England*, New York, 1912, p. 120 and fig. 100A and B.

187. Paul Frankl, *op.cit.*, p. 98.

188. *ibid.*, p. 101.

189. C. J. P. Cave, *The Roof Bosses of Lincoln Minster* (*Lincoln Minster Pamphlets*, III), 2nd ed., Lincoln, 1951, p. 2. Cf. the same author's "The Roof Bosses of Lincoln Cathedral," *Archaeologia*, LXXXV for 1935, 1936, p. 30.

Turning to the bosses of the "crazy" vaults, those from the east crossing (cf. Fig. 16) are certainly of a date later than 1239. In style they correspond to those of the Angel Choir. Cave says that they are "evidently of the same date." Further, the boss from the next bay to the west (Fig. 15) and the other bosses from the "crazy" vaults have no connection with the style of those in the side aisles (Fig. 13).

Thus, in examining the "crazy" vaults in the choir nothing has come out which speaks in favor of dating them in the period before the great disaster. This corresponds also with what the documents tell us, e.g. when the *Annales de Dunstaplia* says: "facta est ruina muri Lincolnensis ecclesiae secus chorum, post sedem decani." Probably both the central tower and a part of the choir high wall fell down and destroyed the choir vaults. Thus the "crazy" vaults are not a work by St. Hugh's architect but date from after the disaster in 1239.

As early as 1906 W. R. Lethaby had said in his book on Westminster Abbey: "The choir vault at Lincoln, I am convinced, is not of St. Hugh's work, and is not so much a step towards subdivided vaults as an attempt to make all the compartments harmonize with the first (sexpartite) bay in having six half ribs."¹⁹⁰ Five years later in answering the article by Bond and Watkins, Lethaby gave the following interpretation of the choir vaults: "I remember examining this many years ago in view of Willis having called it a 'crazy vault,' and I came to the conclusion that as the bays are of different widths and as the first narrow one is sexpartite, the wider ones were also made to have six ribs, but in different fashion, so that in *the perspective view* they harmonize remarkably. Notice how the cell of the wide bay next to the sexpartite cell exactly repeats it, the diagonal ribs springing at the same angle in both bays. One is a true sexpartite vault, the other may be called an eccentric sexpartite vault."¹⁹¹

It is true that in the perspective view (Fig. 12) the system of the ribs does not seem so strange as when we are looking at it straight from below (Fig. 11). And, as Lethaby says, the diagonal ribs seem to spring at the same angle in both of the first bays, that with the true sexpartite vault and that with the eccentric vault. Thus also here we have an adaptation to the perspective view as in the nave of Peterborough. But of course the problems were quite different. Here in Lincoln the artist had to make a good combination between the old type of vault, the sexpartite, in the first bay of the choir, and a new type which must necessarily be quite different, since the high walls in the first bay and those in the following bays differ greatly. It would be impossible to build an ordinary sexpartite vault in the latter ones. But, as Lethaby pointed out, the architect tried to build these vaults in such a way that they would harmonize in the perspective view with the true sexpartite vault of the first bay.

ADDENDUM

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LINCOLN DURING THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS,

1192-1217

In 1192, during the episcopate of Hugh of Avalon, the great Cathedral of Lincoln was founded.¹⁹² We know from Salisbury Cathedral that it was five years, from 1220 to 1225, before the lady chapel and the easternmost part of the choir were sufficiently advanced to permit the consecration of the three easternmost altars.¹⁹³ Thus it is not surprising to find that at Lincoln, twenty-five years earlier, it was only after eight years of building that the consecration of the easternmost altar in Lincoln Cathedral, that of St. John the Baptist, could take place. We know from the

190. W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen. A Study of Mediaeval Building*, New York, London, 1906, p. 373.

191. W. R. Lethaby, "Lincoln Cathedral: A New Reading," *Journal of R.I.B.A.*, 1911, p. 238. (The italics are mine.)

192. See above p. 259.

193. William de Wanda, *Historia translationis veteris ecclesiae Beatae Mariae Sarum ad Novam (Vetus registrum Sarisberiense alias dictum registrum S. Osmundi episcopi, II)*, London, 1884, pp. 37-39.

*Magna vita S. Hugonis Lincolniensis*¹⁹⁴ that St. Hugh before his death told Geoffrey de Noyers "nobilis fabricae constructor" the following: "As we have heard that His Majesty the King with his bishops and all the leading men of this realm is to hold a great assembly at Lincoln almost immediately, thou shalt hasten to complete everything necessary for the adornment and decoration around the altar of my lord and patron, St. John the Baptist. I should wish the altar to be consecrated by the Bishop of Rochester, when he comes there with the other bishops. It was my hope to have performed the ceremony myself, but God has ordained otherwise, and I am anxious that the consecration should take place without fail before my arrival, for I shall be at Lincoln on the day fixed for this assembly."

As T. J. Willson has pointed out, St. Hugh was buried in the central eastern chapel of the choir, that of St. John the Baptist.¹⁹⁵ The words in the *Magna vita* concerning St. Hugh's part in building the Cathedral seem to indicate that he had only begun to build the Cathedral Church: "this noble fabric, which he has begun to erect from the foundations."¹⁹⁶ Also he requests that de Noyers "hasten to complete everything necessary for the adornment and decoration around the altar of my lord and patron, St. John the Baptist,"¹⁹⁷ and this altar was situated, as we have already seen, in the easternmost chapel, which would thus seem to have been the first part to be made ready. This too, I think, can be interpreted as evidence of the fact that little more had been accomplished in 1200 than this part of the building.

The same impression is conveyed by the account of Giraldus in the second edition of his *Vita S. Remigii*, written "certainly not before 1210, and not later than the autumn of 1214":¹⁹⁸ "He likewise repaired the choir (*capicium*) of his church with Parian stones and marble columns with wondrous skill, erecting it again entirely from the foundations by a very costly work."¹⁹⁹ Thus he speaks only of the *capicium* or chevet of the Cathedral.

When Rogerus de Hoveden, who wrote in the beginning of the thirteenth century, describes how King John offered a chalice of gold at the altar of St. John the Baptist the day before St. Hugh's body arrived at Lincoln for burial, he says: "On the following day, namely Wednesday the twenty-second of November, King John of England entered undaunted the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, and this he did against the advice of many, and he placed upon the altar of St. John the Baptist, which is in the new building, a chalice of gold."²⁰⁰

Here, too, only the same altar is mentioned, and it is especially noted that it is "in novo opere," which, I believe, can only mean that the old cathedral church was still in existence. Studying the ground plans of both churches, we find that it was quite possible to build a great deal of the new choir without pulling down the old building,²⁰¹ which had to be used for services while the construction of the new one was in its initial stages. But of course Hugh wanted to be buried in the new Cathedral which he himself had begun to build. The meaning of the king's offering was, I think, to celebrate his first visit to the new cathedral church.

194. *Magna vita S. Hugonis Lincolniensis* (*Rerum Britannicarum medi aevi scriptores*, No. 37), pp. 336f.

195. T. J. Willson, "The Tomb of St. Hugh at Lincoln," pp. 104-108.

196. "nobilis fabrica, quam coepit a fundamentis erigere."

197. "accelera et consumma quaecunque necessaria sunt ad decorem et ornatum circa altare domini ac patroni mei sancti Baptistae Johannis."

198. *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, VII, pp. xii and xl.

199. *ibid.*, pp. 40f.: "Item ecclesiae suae capicium Pariis lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit, et totum a fundamento opere sumptuosissimo novum erexit."

200. *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, ed. W. Stubbs (*Rerum Britannicarum medi aevi scriptores*, No. 51), London, 1871, p. 141: "In crastino, videlicet X^{mo} kalendas Decembris, feria quarta, Johannes rex Angliae intrepidus, et

contra consilium multorum, intravit ecclesiam cathedralem Lincolniensem, et obtulit super altare S. Johannis Baptistae, quod est in novo opere, calicem aureum." Cf. the circumstances at the consecration of the first altars in Salisbury Cathedral in 1225. Three days after the consecration the king visited the new Cathedral: "Die Jovis proximo sequenti venit dominus Rex, et justitarius, scilicet Hubertus de Burgo, et audivit, ibi rex missam gloriose, et optulit ibi decem marcas argenti, et unum pannum sericum. Concessit etiam eidem loco singulis annis, ut nundinae sint ibi sollempnes a vigilia Assumptionis beatae Virginis, illo die computato, usque ad octabas Assumptionis, usque ad diem illum (scilicet octavum) completum." (W. de Wanda, *op.cit.*, p. 43)

201. Cf. John Bilson, "The Plan of the First Cathedral Church of Lincoln," *Archaeologia*, LXII (2nd series, XII), 1911, the plan, pl. LXXVII.

St. Hugh, then, completed only the chevet of the Cathedral; but he may well have managed to lay out the foundations of the choir transept and even to build a little of it.

Who was the architect of St. Hugh's Cathedral? For a long time art historians have thought it likely, or certain, that he was Geoffrey de Noyers, about whom we are informed by the following single statement in the *Magna vita*: "Presently, when after fifteen days the last day of this life was impending for Hugo, he spoke thus to Gaufridus de Noiers, who had had the noble fabric erected which Hugo in his munificent delight in adorning the house of God had begun to erect from the foundations by restoring the church: 'As we have heard that His Majesty the King with his bishops and the leading men of all this realm is to hold a great assembly at Lincoln almost immediately, thou shalt hasten to complete everything necessary for the adornment and decoration around the altar of my lord and patron, St. John the Baptist.'"²⁰²

Recently Paul Frankl has devoted a great deal of his study about Lincoln Cathedral to Geoffrey de Noyers. However, we should note that John Harvey had already voiced another opinion: "Some doubt exists as to whether Geoffrey de Noiers, mentioned as the builder of the new Lincoln Cathedral in the Great Life of St. Hugh (*nobilis fabricae constructor*) was really the designer, or simply an administrative chief."²⁰³ And in another work of the same year he says: "But it is by no means certain that the description of du Noyer actually implies that he was the architect of the building. As so frequently happened in the accounts of architecture by mediaeval clerics, it may well be that Geoffrey was the administrative rather than the technical chief. And this tends to be borne out by Mr. J. W. F. Hill's recent discovery that during the last years of the twelfth century, one Master Richard the mason was holding land from the dean and chapter."²⁰⁴

After St. Hugh's death there were three years of vacancy before William de Blois succeeded him in 1203. And after his death only three years later there was another period of three years of vacancy. During these nine years the work certainly went on. For instance, a letter was issued by the king in December 1205, appealing for help on behalf of the *novum opus* at Lincoln.²⁰⁵ But probably the work was not carried on so fast during the vacancies. Perhaps there was some building on the choir transept and also on the lower part of the choir walls between the east transept and the great transept with a single arcade decorating the walls. Perhaps during this period they also began to build the lower part of the first bay of the great transept on each side of the crossing.

In 1208 England was laid under an interdict because of the fight between King John on one side and the Pope and Archbishop Stephen Langton on the other. The king tried in the beginning of 1209 to increase the number of loyal bishops in the country. He nominated Hugh, Archdeacon of Wells, to the see of Lincoln probably just after March 29²⁰⁶ and forced him upon the chapter. It is from this time that we have a sign of the king's interest in the fabric of the Cathedral. Little more than two months earlier, on January 18, 1209, King John had granted the canons of Lincoln permission to carry out of the forest the timber they had acquired.²⁰⁷

The following eight years was a time of considerable unrest in the whole country, not least at Lincoln. Contrary to some earlier writers on the subject, and recently Paul Frankl,²⁰⁸ I think that the work must have suffered considerably. In 1209 the bishop was sent to France by the king to obtain consecration from the archbishop of Rouen. But instead Hugh went to Stephen Langton, obtained consecration from him and joined him in exile. The king, in consequence of this act of defiance, dismissed the bishop from his office,²⁰⁹ and the bishops were in exile until 1214. England was under the interdict from 1208 to 1213 and no services could be held in the churches. In 1212 King John "visited Lincolnshire, and apparently Lincoln, for Adam the mayor had to buy his

202. *Magna vita S. Hugonis Lincolnensis*, pp. 336f.

203. *The Gothic World, 1100-1600*, p. 40.

204. *The English Cathedrals*, p. 37.

205. *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, I: 1, ab anno MCCI ad annum MCCXVI (*Great Britain Record Commission*, xxxix),

London, 1835, p. 57a.

206. *Rotuli chartarum*, p. 185b.

207. *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, I:1, p. 88b.

208. Paul Frankl, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

209. Rogerus de Wendover, *Chronica*, p. 231.

goodwill with a fine of 500 marks. The whole city was mainprised to pay this enormous exaction."²¹⁰ In Whitsun week in 1214 a part of the barons' forces established themselves in Lincoln.²¹¹ On June 15, 1215, Magna Carta was sealed at Runnymede, but war could not be prevented. The king was again at Lincoln from February 23 to 27, 1216, and a penalty of one thousand marks was imposed on the citizens.²¹² At the invitation of the barons' party Louis of France landed in England in May of that year and his troops occupied the city of Lincoln, though the castle withstood them. King John and his troops put the baronial troops to flight in September and the king again entered Lincoln on the 22nd of that month and stayed there or in the surroundings until October 2. On the night of October 18 the king died and soon after the baronial troops again returned to the city and resumed the siege of the castle.²¹³

The forces behind the infant King Henry III were strong and even the Pope and his legate helped to defend his cause. Hill says in his book about mediaeval Lincoln: "Now the papal legate excommunicated Louis again, with all his accomplices and abettors, especially those who were besieging Lincoln Castle, 'together with the city of Lincoln and all its contents'; and he granted plenary absolution to all who, having made a truthful confession, supported the king's arms." And further: "The results of the battle were more important to Lincoln than the battle itself. The citizens had the misfortune to be committed to the side which lost, and the royalists not only seized the baggage and valuables of the rebel barons and the French nobles, but they also 'despoiled the whole city, even to the uttermost farthing.' On the strength of the papal legate's exhortation to treat the canons of the cathedral as excommunicate (they too having been against King John), they pillaged the churches, broke open chests and store rooms, and seized and carried off gold and silver, jewellery and vestments."²¹⁴

Especially one statement from these years has aroused considerable interest. As recently as 1948 we find the statement in Hill's book that during the battle of Lincoln after the death of King John, "The sum of 11,000 silver marks in the hands of the precentor, Geoffrey of Deeping, and destined for the building of the nave, was looted."²¹⁵ As his source the author gives "*Liber antiquus Hugonis Welles* (ed. Gibbons), p. vii." But this information concerning Geoffrey of Deeping is not given in *Liber Antiquus* itself but in the introduction by G. G. Perry, of 1888, and there without any source mentioned. Most of the same information as Perry gives us occurs both in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*²¹⁶ and in Roger of Wendover's *Chronica*,²¹⁷ but nowhere can I find the statement that the sum of 11,000 silver marks was specifically destined for the building of the nave. Roger of Wendover says only: "But the precentor of this church, namely Gaufridus de Drepinges, lamented that he had lost eleven thousand marks of silver."

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210. J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 198. On the whole I here follow Hill's account of the war.

211. *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, Vol. II (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, LVIII), London, 1873, p. 221.

212. *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, I:1, pp. 167b, 168b.

213. As there were repeated sieges of the castle, it is important to notice the exposed position of the cathedral close to

the castle on the hill. Cf. e.g. the plan of Lincoln ca. 1200 in Hill, *op.cit.*, p. 203.

214. J. W. F. Hill, *op.cit.*, pp. 201 and 205.

215. *ibid.*, p. 112 n. 4.

216. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, p. 23.

217. Rogerus de Wendover, *Chronica*, IV, London, 1842, p. 25: "Praecentor autem ecclesiae illius, Gaufridus scilicet de Drepinges, undecim millia marcas argenti se doluit amisisse."

SPATIAL IMAGERY OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY FLORENCE

JOHN R. SPENCER

EARLY in its history the Christian Church became aware of the Annunciation as a means of presenting the complex theological concept of the Incarnation of the Word in easily comprehended visual terms. The development and dissemination of the theme in the Middle Ages are already well known. Theologically the Annunciation marks the beginning of the life of Christ and the *raison d'être* of the life of the Virgin. It represents a fundamental tenet of Christianity, and, more important, one of the few intellectual concepts which lends itself so readily to dramatization or portrayal. As such it played an important part in the daily Christianity of both laymen and clergy. Because of its popularity and vitality as an iconographical motif, both in the life of Christ and in the life of the Virgin, the Annunciation was able to adapt itself to changing tastes in art and theology without losing any of its force. Challenged by the humanism of the Renaissance, and particularly by the rational and humanist art of fifteenth century Florence, it generated new forms capable of satisfying the needs of a new generation.

Despite the large number of iconographical analyses of the Annunciation, the treatment of this motif in fifteenth century Florence has been largely neglected. Robb's study¹ is perhaps one of the most complete. His attention, however, is directed to the development of a new motif in fourteenth century Siena and its subsequent spread through France and the Low Countries. The only other thorough examination of the theme² is concerned primarily with textual iconography and with a greater period of time than this study proposes. Rudrauf³ and Prampolini⁴ do not penetrate deeply into this problem. The former is concerned solely with the Annunciation as a means of analyzing dynamics and statics in painting, the latter with a geographical grouping of mediaeval and early Renaissance examples of the composition. Neither makes any attempt to organize fifteenth century Italian Annunciations by iconographic motives. This study, in a limited way, is directed toward filling this hiatus in the "iconography" of the Annunciation.⁵

Three quite obvious assumptions form the basis of this discussion. The continuance in the fifteenth century of a calendar year beginning on the Feast of the Annunciation, the popularity of the church of SS Annunziata, and the large number of Annunciations extant from the period would seem to verify the assumption that the cult of the Annunciate was still popular and strong in Florence throughout the fifteenth century. The assumption that a new aesthetic arose in Florence toward the beginning of the fifteenth century is too obvious to be labored. Given the first two assumptions, a third—that a new composition was created which could satisfy both the old iconography and the new aesthetic—could be expected to follow. This last assumption creates the problem. Examination of the area proposed indicates not one but several "responses" to this artistic "challenge." One dominant motif does appear to emerge, yet it leads to one of the most important lost paintings of this period, Masaccio's *Annunciation* for his parish church of S. Niccolò sopr'Arno.

1. David M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the 14th and 15th centuries," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 480-526. My study does not attempt to compete with Robb in completeness. It is rather a discussion of key or representative paintings.

2. Jeanne Vilette, *L'Ange dans l'art d'occident du XII^e au XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1941, and *La Maison de la Vierge dans la*

scène de l'Annonciation, Paris, 1941.

3. Lucien Rudrauf, *L'Annonciation*, Paris, 1943.

4. Giacomo Prampolini, *L'Annunciazione nei pittori primitivi italiani*, Milan, 1939.

5. F. Hartt's forthcoming *Hortulus animae*, a study of the influence of S. Antonino on the *Annunciation*, will provide further clarification.

Florentine painters of the fourteenth century seem to have been content to accept Sienese innovations on the motif of the Annunciation without creating any outstanding variants of their own. Examples of the retreating timorous gesture of the Virgin derived from Simone Martini's *Annunciation* of 1333 are fairly common in fourteenth century Florentine painting, although they occur with less frequency during the course of the fifteenth century. The Ducciesque tradition employing architecture to separate the actors in the drama seems to have enjoyed even wider acceptance among fourteenth century Florentine painters. In Florence, however, this motif underwent a gradual development by which the enclosing rather than the separating nature of the architecture became dominant. The Sienese "canopy" was extended over the angel bringing both actors into the same space.⁶ Fra Angelico departs very slightly from this Trecento norm in his *Annunciation* for the Gesù church at Cortona (Fig. 4). His inclusion of Adam and Eve, God the Father, and the bedroom of the Virgin is rather unusual, yet his composition is essentially derived from the Florentine variant of Duccio's innovation. Fra Angelico was clearly satisfied with this solution; neither he nor his closest followers, Zanobi Strozzi and Benozzo Gozzoli, depart radically from this essentially Trecento formula in their extant works. The more "correct" Sienese tradition makes its appearance in Florence during the fifteenth century in the work of Lorenzo Monaco. In Don Lorenzo's *Annunciation* for Santa Trinità, Florence⁷ (Fig. 2), the Virgin is effectively screened from the angel by the interior space of the room and by the columns in the accepted Trecento manner. At the same time this panel points the way toward the Annunciation of the fifteenth century by the suggestion of a deeper space extending beyond the architecture, through the open doorway and into a *hortus conclusus*. This, then, is the state of the traditional iconography in the second and third decades of the fifteenth century. Despite Florentine interest in new compositions the traditional form was not wholly displaced until late in the fifteenth century.

Contemporary with the Annunciations of Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico, one group of Florentine artists was striking off in new directions. Masaccio, Donatello, and Brunelleschi placed an emphasis on plasticity and spatial organization which was in many respects diametrically opposed to all that was traditional in Florentine art. The aims of their "new art" fortunately found a spokesman in Leon Battista Alberti who stated the demands of the new aesthetic on the old traditions in his *Della pittura*. On the most obvious level the new art wished to create a rational means of controlling represented space and the figures which inhabit this space. Alberti's perspective grid provides a means of locating the figures in space and at the same time a means of relating the figures to each other and to architecture. *Della pittura* suggests a variety of poses in which both dignity and certain logical limits are to be retained. Finally, in his most important concept of *istoria* Alberti treats of a dignified "variety and copiousness" unknown in earlier painting. This new art is to create an emotive link between the observer and the painting by means of a perspective construction which locates observer and observed in the same apparent space, affective color and movement to create an emotion in the observer, and an inherent dignity and nobility to raise the moral and intellectual level of all who see it. In short, it is an art of *virtù* from the point of view of both artist and observer. Alberti's text and Masaccio's painting, then, state the challenge confronting Florentine artists. It was a challenge which could not be ignored. The response, in general terms, is well known. An examination of one facet of this response as characterized by the theme of the Annunciation is not only revealing for Florentine art as a whole, but seems to indicate a group of vital new forms engendered by the conflict between the old and the new.

The immediate results of this contact will probably never be known, for Masaccio's lost *An-*

6. Florentine examples of this composition exist, among others, in the works of Agnolo Gaddi at the Duomo, Prato; in a work from the shop of Gaddi at Santo Spirito, Prato; and in one by an unknown late fourteenth century painter at

the church of San Marco in Florence. See Prampolini, figs. 15, 17-19.

7. Bartolini chapel. Dating and attribution after Osvald Sirén, *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 115.



1. Domenico Veneziano, *Annunciation*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Courtesy Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum



2. Lorenzo Monaco, *Annunciation*
Florence, Sta. Trinità (Photo: Alinari)



3. Shop of Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*
Florence, San Marco Museum (Photo: Alinari)



4. Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*
Cortona, Gesù church (Photo: Alinari)



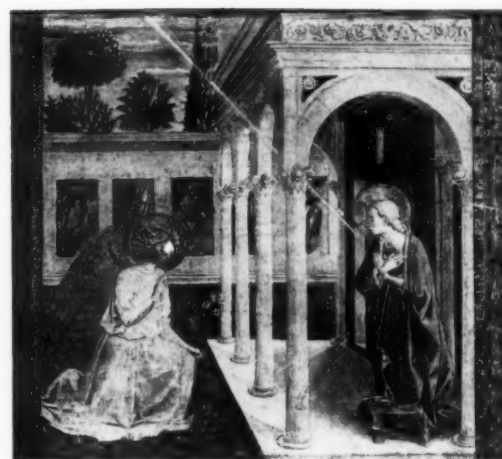
6. Shop of Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



5. Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*
Florence, Convent of San Marco (Photo: Alinari)



8. Detail of Fig. 3 (Photo: Alinari)



7. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Annunciation*
Rome, Vatican Museum (Photo: Alinari)



9. Piero della Francesca, *Annunciation*.
Perugia, Museo civico (Photo: Alinari)



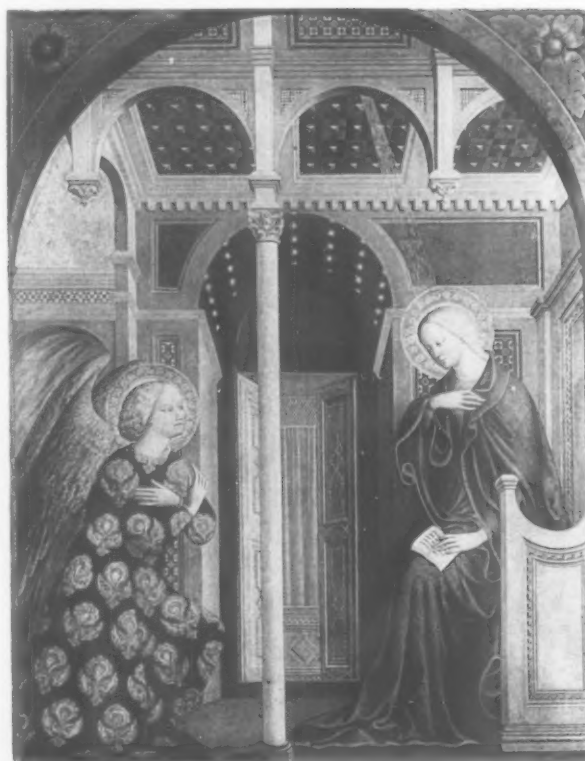
10. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Annunciation*
Florence, S. Lorenzo (Photo: Alinari)



11. Domenico di Michelino, *Annunciation*. London, National Gallery
Courtesy Trustees of the National Gallery



12. Neri di Bicci, *Annunciation*. Florence, Accademia (Photo: Alinari)



13. Masolino da Panicale, *Annunciation*
Washington, National Gallery, Mellon Collection

nunciation probably represented the first statement of the synthesis between the new forms and the old iconography.⁸ At the same time, it is clear that a new spatial iconography for the Annunciation does appear in Florence during the 1440's. A group of paintings utilizing essentially the same organization of space can be isolated and their progeny traced late into the sixteenth century. The vitality and longevity of this innovation seem to point to an artist of Masaccio's stature as the inventor of the motif. The fifteenth century artists who adopt and exploit the motif strengthen this connection.

The earliest extant *Annunciation* which partakes of a new spatial organization and iconography different from the Florentine variations on fourteenth century Sienese innovations is found in Domenico Veneziano's predella to the St. Lucy altarpiece at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 1). In this panel Domenico accepts the tenets of the "new art" to order his architecture and the space it contains by means of the one-point perspective construction. The floor alone contains at least three easily observed orthogonals graven into the gesso ground, while the intersection of each transversal and orthogonal together with the vanishing point are all clearly indicated. The rationally constructed *allée* retreating along the central axis and the symmetrical wings of the portico are typical of this new type of Annunciation. The color chords of this predella panel like those of the whole altarpiece seem to be an artistic commentary on Alberti's statements that "rose near green and sky-blue give both honor and life. White not only near ash and crocus yellow but placed near almost any other gives gladness."⁹ The rhetorical nature of the gestures advocated in *Della pittura* is reflected in the pose of the angel, who has completed the salutation and now plays the role of orator trying to please, move, and persuade the Virgin to assume her role in the Divine plan.¹⁰ At the same time, this panel does not break completely with the traditional iconography. The Virgin retains some of the submissiveness of her fourteenth century prototype and she is isolated from the angel by a "canopy" and screen of columns.

An *Annunciation* from the shop of Fra Angelico is probably even closer to the suggested Masaccio prototype than the Domenico Veneziano panel (Fig. 3).¹¹ The architecture of the two works is closely related; both make use of a rear wall to close the space, both open this wall with a door leading into a garden, and both use a portico to enclose the action.¹² In this example the Virgin leaves the protection of the architecture and meets the angel face to face in the open courtyard. Her trecento timorousness is gone. She no longer screens herself from the angel with hand or gesture, but listens intently in a rather unusual kneeling pose. By bringing the two actors of the drama into closer proximity the artist heightens their psychological relation to each other and to the observer. In this respect the panel is more satisfying in an Albertian sense than Domenico Veneziano's composition, although it is perhaps equally true that the Fitzwilliam panel indicates a desire to break the symmetry inherent in Alberti's perspective system. Although the variety of color chords becomes a little overwhelming and leads to spatial ambiguities, this panel does attempt to conform to the "new art."

Perhaps the greatest importance of this small panel lies in the way it documents the acceptance of the "new Annunciation." Close examination of the panel indicates that it was not originally designed as such a radical break with the traditional organization. Under a raking light a graven

8. Although Uccello's lost *Annunciation* from Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence, was probably executed before the series to be considered below, I believe with Pudelko (ART BULLETIN, xvi, pp. 243-44) that it represented a more traditional form allied to the Annunciations of Fra Angelico and Lorenzo Monaco already cited.

9. Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, Luigi Mallé, ed., Florence, 1950, p. 91. Translation my own.

10. Although this part of the Annunciation was stressed by S. Bernardino in his Lenten sermons at Sta. Croce, Florence, in 1424-1425, he gave no indication of place. See San Ber-

nardino, *Prediche volgare inedite, 1424-1425*, P. Dionisio Pacetti OFM, ed., Siena, 1935, II, pp. 344-347.

11. One of a series of thirty-five panels from a silver cupboard for the Santissima Annunziata now in the Museum of San Marco, Florence. See John Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, New York, 1952, pp. 190f., and the catalogue of the *Mostra dell'Angelico*, 1955, pp. 84-87.

12. The trees of this *allée* seem to have been columns originally. Perhaps the panel was altered during the painting to create a garden space rather than a church space.

line extending diagonally from the left toe of the angel to the lower right corner of the wall opening becomes visible. Another intersects it and runs parallel to the door opening; a third is graved from the halo of the Virgin across the door toward the upper left corner of the panel (Fig. 8).¹³ It is well known that this was the normal shop procedure to indicate the final disposition of the architectural elements. Had architecture been constructed on these lines it would have isolated the Virgin from the angel in the traditional Trecento manner. However, the lines of the architecture would have run exactly counter to the "normal" Trecento types where the canopy usually extends from lower right toward the center and from the center to upper right. In all probability the spatial division as planned would have resembled a common type like Benozzo Gozzoli's *Annunciation* in a predella in the Vatican (Fig. 7), while the actual disposition of the architecture could have been drawn from Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* in the upper corridor of the monastery of San Marco (Fig. 5). In this fresco Fra Angelico retained the general composition of his Cortona *Annunciation* (Fig. 4), but, aware of perspective, altered the receding lines of his architecture in accordance with the Albertian construction. Perhaps the Annunziata panel at its inception was intended to utilize the latest composition of the master while conforming more closely to Sienese tradition. At some point, the painter of this panel lost interest in tradition. He had heard of Leon Battista Alberti and of the "new art of painting" praised in *Della pittura*. He readily discarded the plan graved on the surface of his panel and by means of Alberti's perspective construction created a panel based on the new vision of space. The intersections of the transversals with the vertical axis of the panel can be recognized on close examination as small dots quite distinct from worm holes. The artist has marked the vanishing point with a point, two intersecting lines, and a rather freehand circle. In this panel the canopy of the Trecento is rejected in favor of the rationally constructed space of the Quattrocento. The Annunciation now moves into the open air where the architecture serves primarily to indicate the spatial environment of the action.

The effect of the Fitzwilliam and Annunziata panels can be seen in the work of a much weaker painter in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Fig. 6). Although this panel has neither an acceptable date nor attribution,¹⁴ its clear derivation from the Annunziata cupboard panel places it in Florence not too far from the influence of Fra Angelico. The porticoes and *allée* repeat almost without variation the architectural elements of the Annunziata panel; the rear wall emphasizes the architrave in a manner reminiscent of Domenico Veneziano. A similar architrave was apparently intended for the Annunziata panel, although it is scarcely visible today. The artist has altered the poses of the actors, but even though his perspective is felt rather than constructed, the spatial organization remains essentially the same.

This same motif of an open frontal space with an *allée* receding down the central axis of the panel was adopted by Piero della Francesca for the *Annunciation* in the pinnacle of his Perugia altarpiece (Fig. 9). The architectural space of the Virgin is more ambiguous than in the earlier examples cited, yet Piero's reliance on them is quite clear. In addition, the organization of the colonnade surrounding the cloister suggests by its vertical and horizontal accents the possible influence of the architecture in the Berlin *desco da parto* attributed to Masaccio.

The "pure" archetypal Annunciation from which subsequent compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries descend can be limited to this group of four paintings.¹⁵ It is typified by an open

13. I should like to express my gratitude to the Sovrintendenza of Florence and particularly to Dr. Rossi who made it possible for me to examine this panel at my leisure out of the frame and under a raking light.

14. Attributed by Raimond van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, x, pp. 479-480, to young Pesellino; by the museum to the shop of Fra Angelico. In all probability it was intended for cupboard decoration. Gold points of a double quatrefoil frame are visible at both sides and bottom of the panel.

15. To which can be added some later Quattrocento Florentine examples, Benozzo Gozzoli's late fresco in the

Camposanto, Pisa, and a painting in the Kress collection, Washington (No. 407), variously attributed to Pesellino (L. Venturi, *Italian Paintings in America*, Milan, 1933, II, no. 223), Fra Filippo (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, x, p. 468), the Carand Master (Bernard Berenson in a written opinion), or to the Barberini Master by Offner (*Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, I, pp. 236-246. See also *Annunciations* now in San Francisco, formerly in the Lanckoronski Collection, and in Ottawa, formerly Liechtenstein Collection.

foreground space limited by architecture, and by a long *allée* which recedes deep into space along the vertical axis of the painting. In the majority of examples adduced the Virgin and angel meet face to face in the open foreground. This group of paintings maintains close connections with the shop of Fra Angelico. It is noteworthy that the artists represented in this group are all of the younger generation whose artistic education was completed in Florence around 1440-1450.

This compositional innovation, represented in the work of the younger artists, had unusual vitality. It not only spread throughout Italy in the fifteenth century but was still strong late in the following century. Piero della Francesca was probably more responsible than any other single artist for the dissemination of this motif throughout north and central Italy. His Perugia altarpiece undoubtedly influenced the Umbrian painters, as his contacts with Ferrara affected the artists of Emilia and the Veneto. The composition appears in Umbria where it finds its way into Perugino's *Annunciation* in Santa Maria Nuova at Fano, into Raphael's early *Annunciation* in the predella to the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Vatican, and into Annunciations of Pinturicchio in the Borgia apartments of the Vatican and at S. Maria Maggiore at Spello. Francia's *Annunciation* in the Brera, Milan, is basically allied to this group as are the paintings of Costa at S. Petronio, Bologna, and an *Annunciation* attributed to Cosimo Tura in the Massari Collection, Ferrara. The Master of the Gardner Annunciation and Marco Palmezzano (*Annunciation* in the Pinacoteca, Forlì) make minor variations on this same theme. The motif appears in Siena in a work which unexpectedly follows the Florentine innovation most closely. The relation between Neroccio's *Annunciation* in the Jarves Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery Vecchietta and their common Florentine prototype is clear. Although it was carried throughout Italy, the motif still retained its original vitality late in the sixteenth century. It appears again almost without variation in Annunciations by Paolo Veronese in the Uffizi and in the Accademia of Venice.

Text and tradition restricted the action of the Annunciation to the interior of a house and the number of actors to two. Tradition dictated the colors of the garments, the gestures and poses which could be employed. In such a case Alberti's concept of "variety and copiousness" could operate only with the greatest of difficulty. Perhaps the incompatibility between subject matter and the new aims of the artist was responsible for a return to the traditional iconography in some cases or for an attempt at compromise in others.

Florentine artists of the older generation and, infrequently, artists trained by them did retain the traditional form of the Annunciation. Fra Angelico's Annunciations do not differ greatly from the composition accepted by tradition; nor do those of Benozzo Gozzoli and Zanobi Strozzi, who both retained the traditional iconography received from their master. Gozzoli, it is true, did feel the pull of the newer motif toward the end of his life. One is not surprised to find minor painters continuing the older traditions,¹⁶ yet tradition died so hard that Fra Filippo Lippi and even Piero della Francesca felt its influence. Even at the time of his attempted compromise between the new and the old iconography, Fra Filippo exhibits in at least two extant panels (National Gallery, London, and National Gallery, Washington) the indoor-outdoor arrangement of the Trecento Annunciation. Piero's fresco at Arezzo, although it employs the formal vocabulary of the fifteenth century, retains an essentially fourteenth century canopy over the Virgin. Tradition, however, was not the answer to this artistic dilemma, for the old forms were no longer able to contain the ferment of the new vision. Although the old composition lingered on in the provinces, it was almost completely rejected in Florence by the end of the fifteenth century.

In an attempt to effect a compromise between the traditional and innovating treatments of the Annunciation Fra Filippo Lippi created around 1448-1449 a short-lived composition that rarely

16. An *Annunciation* attributed to the shop of Fra Angelico in the collection of Major Gambier Perry exhibited at Burlington House in 1930, and an *Annunciation* by Giusto d'Andrea, Jarves Collection, Yale University.

appears outside Florence. On the one hand his S. Lorenzo altarpiece looks to the past, to Masolino and the fourteenth century Florentine Annunciations cited above. On the other, it points to a not too fruitful future, for his composition was mainly exploited in the shop of Neri di Bicci.

Fra Filippo's San Lorenzo altarpiece (Fig. 10) reproduces the basic spatial organization of the new Annunciation. The action takes place in an area roughly equivalent to the courtyard of the innovating composition, but here the rear wall is omitted to give a larger and deeper view of the *hortus conclusus*. However, Fra Filippo refuses to break wholly with the Trecento tradition. He retains the earlier gesture of rejection or reluctance for the Virgin and carries the late Trecento extended canopy to its logical conclusion. During the fourteenth century in Florence this canopy came to occupy more and more of the picture plane; here it finally bridges the space and usurps the frontal plane. The result is an interior Annunciation with the addition of the new *allée* space. The architecture no longer encloses the action, but serves as a screen separating the space of the painting from the space of the beholder. This type of composition with minor variants became quite popular in Florence after 1450. It appears again in Fra Filippo's work without the screening architecture in the *Annunciation* at the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, and in that of a follower at Munich.¹⁷ Baldovinetti employs a similar composition in his Uffizi *Annunciation* and in the intarsia *Annunciation* in the Sacristy of the Duomo executed with Giuliano da Maiano and Finiguerra. By combining the interior Annunciation of the Trecento with the spatial solutions of the Quattrocento, Fra Filippo opened the way to "variety and copiousness" by means of symbolism. A composition capable of containing all the iconographic nuances attached to the Annunciation was now at the disposal of all artists. The San Lorenzo altarpiece makes it possible to allude to the symbols exclusively connected with the garden without omitting those of the interior.

Such a compromise appealed most strongly to popular taste and particularly to a group of minor popular painters. Such men as Neri di Bicci and Domenico di Michelino apparently adopted this composition in order to satisfy the demands made on them by a wave of pietism which seems to have appeared in Florence shortly after mid-century.¹⁸ The possible variations on the San Lorenzo compromise, as well as the future development of this alternate motif, are indicated by Domenico di Michelino (Fig. 11). His *Annunciation* in the National Gallery, London, contains an enriched symbolism with the inclusion of a well, the bed chamber of the Virgin, and the shell motif, but without altering the traditional lilies and dove. Neri di Bicci enlarges the enclosed foreground while retaining the garden oriented along the central axis in his *Annunciation* in the Accademia, Florence (Fig. 12). In effect, he has advanced the rear wall, or arcade, of the Munich and Palazzo Venezia compositions to the foreground. This minor variant on the compromise solution became a dominant theme in Neri's shop, for it allowed innumerable combinations of figures and architecture and was at the same time flexible enough to contain as much symbolism as the customer desired. Possibly the ultimate in symbolic saturation was reached in the work of a painter identified by Berenson¹⁹ as Zanobi Machiavelli. In an *Annunciation* at St. Martino a Mensola,²⁰ in which the artist shows his debt to most of the major artists of the preceding half century, Alberti's copiousness has been denatured to satisfy the demands of a popular and pietistic art. This desire to acquire "variety and copiousness" on a symbolic level makes it impossible for this group of artists to retain that dignity which characterizes the art of Domenico Veneziano and which was called for in the *Della pittura*. In the words of Alberti, "[This] is not composition but dissolute confusion."²¹

Of the three major types of fifteenth century Annunciations discussed above only the composi-

17. Attributed to the Master of the Castello Nativity by Pudelko, *Rivista d'Arte*, XVIII, 1936, p. 64.

18. Evidence for such a pietistic movement can be found in the late sculpture of Donatello, paintings by Castagno and Polaiuolo, and an early *Crucifixion* attributed to Botticelli.

19. "Zanobi Machiavelli," *Burlington Magazine*, xcii,

1950, p. 346 and fig. 18. In Berenson's 1936 *Lists* the picture appears as the work of the Master of San Miniato.

20. Illustrated also in Prompolini, plate 65; no photograph is available.

21. L. B. Alberti, *Della pittura*, Mallé edition, p. 92. Translation my own.

tion documented by Domenico Veneziano seems to have endured for any period of time. The traditional fourteenth century iconography made desultory appearances in Florence throughout the fifteenth century but was apparently soon out of vogue. The compromise solution between the new and the old suggested by Fra Filippo Lippi's San Lorenzo altarpiece met with an underserving end, for it rarely exists outside Florence or after 1500. With a few exceptions it was primarily exploited by minor artists. The importance of what we have chosen to call an innovation becomes even more striking when compared with the fate of contemporary solutions. Numerically it is far more frequent in the work of major fifteenth century Italian painters than any other. Unlike the traditional and compromise compositions it alone had the ability to move out of Florence, spread across northern Italy and retain its vitality late in the sixteenth century. Only the source of this innovation is unclear. The source of the traditional form we recognize in the fourteenth century; Fra Filippo's San Lorenzo altarpiece we recognize as an attempt at compromise based in part on the past (and Masolino) and in part on the new.

When an iconographic innovation is powerful enough to prevail over space, time, and the debilitating effect of imitation and adaptation, it is customary to search for its origins in the work of an outstanding artist. Such is the case with the iconographic innovations created by Giotto, Duccio, and Simone Martini. Despite his appeal to the twentieth century, the reputation of Domenico Veneziano in the fifteenth century, taken with his extant works, does not seem to permit us to credit him with the invention of a new Annunciation. Although conjecture and personal opinion now enter what has been primarily a factual discussion, it is my belief that the source for this composition can be found in the lost *Annunciation* by Masaccio. Vasari's description of this panel for S. Niccolò sopr'Arno certainly parallels the physical evidence of the Fitzwilliam predella and the paintings related to it. "In the church of San Niccolò sopr'Arno there is on the altar screen a panel painted in tempera by the hand of Masaccio; in which, in addition to the Madonna who receives the Annunciation from the angel, there is a large house, full of columns, beautifully drawn in perspective. In addition to the drawing of the lines, which is perfect, he did it in such a manner that the colors seem to fade out. Little by little they become misty and are lost to view. This clearly shows that he understood perspective."²² Loss of this important painting which could tell us much about Masaccio and his influence on subsequent painting has caused surprisingly little conjecture. With the exception of Roberto Longhi, most scholars only lament the loss of another work by Masaccio.

According to Longhi, the panel described by Vasari was never a Masaccio painting.²³ He proposes instead Masolino's *Annunciation* now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Mellon Collection (Fig. 13). So far as the text is concerned, the composition by Masolino and those of the group around Domenico Veneziano seem to fit the description equally well. Formally, however, they are at opposite poles. The source of Domenico's composition becomes even more complicated by Professor Longhi's attribution. The essential questions of source now center around the iconography and influences of the Washington *Annunciation*, its relationship or lack of relationship with the Domenico Veneziano group, and, finally, its identification with the lost San Niccolò sopr'Arno panel.

In gesture, spatial organization, and the disposition of figures Masolino's *Annunciation* is essentially a Trecento composition, as are all his known Annunciations. Both actors are completely isolated from each other by architecture and pose. The space is not deep, even though the fully developed *allée* of the later type is suggested here. Most important, the Trecento canopy is retained but extended to include the angel. The fourteenth century iconographic sources of the Masolino panel are clear; its progeny are equally clear. The motif of the central column figures prominently in Fra Filippo's Annunciations in San Lorenzo and in the National Gallery, London, and in the

22. Vasari, II, p. 290. Translation my own.

23. Roberto Longhi, "Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio,"

L'Arte, V, 1940, p. 169, "... una 'Annunciazione' di Masaccio, che, purtroppo, non è mai esistita."

group of minor painters who take up his compromise. Essentially Masolino's sphere of influence is restricted to this small group.

The arguments for rejecting the identification of the Masolino Annunciation with the lost Masaccio can be briefly stated. Masaccio frequently innovated strikingly new compositions;²⁴ this is not an innovation. The lost Masaccio *Annunciation* was seen *in situ* by Vasari in the sixteenth century. If Masolino's *Annunciation* occupied an altar in San Niccolò sopr'Arno and passed for a Masaccio throughout the fifteenth century, and if Vasari is correct in saying that Masaccio was the school for Florentine painters, then there should be more examples of this composition in existence. Actually there are remarkably few. Professor Longhi has completely disregarded the lack of columns in the Masolino composition and the more important fact that Masaccio was a resident in the quarter of San Niccolò sopr'Arno from the time of his guild matriculation on January 7, 1422, until he is documented as living on the present Via de' Servi in 1427.²⁵ It seems only natural that a member of the parish would welcome the opportunity to assert the "new art" in the face of the retardataire altarpiece painted for the church by the foreigner, Gentile da Fabriano. These same arguments can be stated positively in favor of identifying the prototype of the "new Annunciation" with the lost Masaccio.

If we assume, then, that the lost San Niccolò *Annunciation* is the source for the new Annunciation, it may be possible to supplement Vasari's brief description with motives drawn from the derivative compositions. Such a reconstruction would result in an Annunciation somewhere between Domenico Veneziano's version and the one for the Annunziata cupboard. It certainly would have contained porticoes as flanking wings, and a rear wall pierced to give a vista into a garden. The garden *allée* would have been bordered by a row of columns conforming to Vasari's description and to the evidence of the Annunziata panel. Since the motif of Angel and Virgin meeting face to face in the open courtyard is dominant in the majority of the compositions—with the exception of Domenico Veneziano's—we must postulate such a grouping for Masaccio. Judging from fifteenth century versions of the composition, it would have been notably devoid of any "variety and copiousness" especially on the symbolic level.

There remains to explain the twenty year hiatus between the death of Masaccio and the appearance of his innovation in Florentine painting. It seems more than accidental that when the innovation does appear in extant paintings it is found in the work of younger painters not too far removed from the shop of Fra Angelico. Although Fra Angelico touched the Masaccio-Alberti "new art" from time to time in his career, his style was already quite firmly established by the 1440's. The same can be said of Fra Filippo, who seems to move away from Masaccio after his return to Florence in 1437. Both the older men were moving in a direction different from Masaccio and were only slightly interested in his innovations. Of the two artists, however, Fra Angelico was more open to influences from the new aesthetic and thus provided a more congenial atmosphere for its acceptance. The younger painters in his shop were ready to adopt Alberti's theory along with the vitality of Masaccio's spatial compositions.

Admittedly, personal opinion will ultimately decide whether one accepts or rejects the identification of the prototype of the "new Annunciation" with the lost Masaccio. However, ruling out any attempts to find a source for the new composition, this much remains certain: a new iconography, formal rather than textual, was introduced in Florence before the middle of the fifteenth century. This new composition broke radically with the Sienese Trecento and established a new motif that spread throughout Italy and lasted until late in the sixteenth century.

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24. For example, the Uffizi *Virgin and St. Anne*, the *Trinity* in Santa Maria Novella, and the *Shadow Healing*, *Death of Ananias* and *Tribute Money* in the Brancacci chapel.

25. See Mario Salmi, *Masaccio*, Milan, 1948, pp. 138-139, for citation of pertinent documents.

THE OPEN WINDOW AND THE STORM-TOSSED BOAT: AN ESSAY IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ROMANTICISM

LORENZ EITNER

THE history of nineteenth century art is sometimes presented as a struggle between two forces: on the one side, the moribund traditions, the fading grandeur of history painting, the spinners of anecdotes, the painter-poets and painter-journalists; on the opposite side, the pioneers of progress, the visual realists, the experimenters with color and pictorial structure. A fatal obsession with subject matter dooms the party of Delaroche, Meissonier, and the Düsseldorf school; a new vision of form carries forward Delacroix, Manet, the Impressionists, and Cézanne. Literature is the devil of the piece—"c'est le poete qui a fait tomber le peintre dans la fosse," as Baudelaire summed it up.¹ There is no need to point out that this view is a grotesque oversimplification; but it is also a convenient abbreviation of the truth and it expresses very well the profound revolution of taste which separates the twentieth century from the nineteenth. The prevailing attitude toward nineteenth century art is still partisan, rather than objectively historical. After fifty years, the polemic against "painted literature" has rather lost its point, but the indifference or hostility toward subject matter persists. It provides an unfavorable climate for the study of nineteenth century iconography.

The reluctance to come to grips with subject matter has had strange effects on the history of modern art. Although the subjects treated by the century's most prominent artists cannot be wholly ignored, they are usually approached without much curiosity and their meanings are seldom deeply probed. Manet, it appears, painted his *Execution of Maximilian* to solve pictorial problems which Goya had raised; Degas' studies of the ballet were entirely motivated by an interest in motion and design. Even where in the work of some artists certain themes recur with a conspicuous, an almost compulsive persistence, there has been the tendency to see in them nothing more than pretexts for experiments with form. Such painters as Manet, Degas, and Cézanne, it is suggested, were indifferent to their subject matter. The very phraseology of picture analysis that has sprung from this approach to modern art reveals its bias: "... the central group might have a closer rhythmic texture, but in general conception it is a most original and striking composition in depth, based on the recession of diagonally-placed groups which leads the eye into the recesses of the great room. And how happily the rectangular shapes on the back wall support the general design. . . ." These are the terms in which Roger Fry described Courbet's *Toilette de la Mariée*.²

The neglect of subject matter stems from the conviction that the essential qualities of art reside in form, not in extraneous ideas; that form *is* meaning, not a vehicle for meaning. Whatever can be said for this view, it has the disadvantage of severely limiting the study of a period in which painting, for better or for worse, contained a great deal of "literature." The artists of the nineteenth century had no doubt that subject matter could possess aesthetic significance. Much of their energy was consumed by the search for appropriate themes and the interpretation of these themes. To

1. C. Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, Paris, 1946, p. 28.

2. Roger Fry, *Characteristics of French Art*, London, 1932, p. 110.

ignore this is to miss their intention; their work cannot be fully understood in stylistic terms alone. The present overemphasis on matters of form has inevitably warped the evaluation of events and movements in nineteenth century art. This is not to say that individual artists have been unjustly treated. It seems unlikely that there will be a wholesale resurrection of the misjudged, such as occurred a hundred years ago, when Watteau, Boucher, and Fragonard were raised from the oblivion to which Neoclassicism had condemned them for moral and aesthetic reasons. But it is apparent that the whole field of subject and meaning in nineteenth century painting must in time be studied more sympathetically, if we are to see more clearly what was significant in it and what was trivial.

Nineteenth century artists were expected to show originality in the choice of subjects. The public's and their own craving for novelty brought into being a tremendous diversity of themes and images, and often misled artists into barren literary or philosophical enterprises. Two difficulties basically affected the new iconography. The lack of a compelling ideology forced artists to search for significant content within their own subjective experience. Being no longer the servants of creeds or institutions, they were responsible for the meanings as well as for the forms of their art. The fact that their liberation brought with it this new burden became apparent early in the century.³ An overconcern with subject matter was one response to this situation, a prudent self-limitation to pictorial problems another. The second difficulty involved the problem of communication. As artists endeavored to express private meanings, rather than broadly shared ideas, they found it hard to maintain touch with their public. The lack of a common pictorial language, of a true iconography, made itself felt. This brought about a new interest in symbols and other devices for casting complex contents into visual form, an interest which continued through the century and was not confined to those movements which called themselves Symbolist. Already shortly after 1800, we find artists who chose to state their contents indirectly, deviously, through suggestive images from visual reality or through quotations from tradition. The symbolical landscapes of C. D. Friedrich and P. O. Runge, and the emblematic military composition of Géricault are cases in point.⁴ It is one of the hazards of modern iconography that seemingly unproblematical images often contain unexpected meanings. There is always the danger of mistaking for plain realism or for borrowings from tradition what the artists intended as a personal parable.

The following observations concern the interpretation of two images taken from the repertory of Romanticism. The *open window* and the *storm-tossed boat* belong to those themes in nineteenth century art which cannot be traced to a single source. Shared by artists of greater and lesser stature, these themes often pervade the production of whole schools and movements, expressing collective rather than purely subjective attitudes. In order to discover their meaning, it is useful to search for parallels in literature. This does not imply that all images of this kind came from literature. The process sometimes was the reverse; poets occasionally borrowed from painters. But most often painters and poets alike appear to have been drawn to these crucial images because they crystallized prevailing ideas or feelings in a form that was visually impressive.

3. Cf. ch. Lenormant, *François Gérard*, Paris, 1847, p. 60: "Les changements qui se sont opérés dans la société depuis deux siècles ont rendu la condition des artistes plus difficile qu'elle ne l'était autrefois. Le choix des sujets à traiter était alors, pour ainsi dire, tout fait: il ne s'agissait, la plupart du temps, que de renouveler, d'une manière élégante et ingénieuse des données dont le type avait été fixé par la religion d'une manière invariable. La pensée individuelle des peintres s'appuyait sur une pensée traditionnelle et l'absence d'une difficulté première aussi grave permettait d'appliquer à l'exécution toute la plénitude des facultés. Aujourd'hui, avant de voir ce qu'un peintre a fait, on demande ce qu'il a voulu faire, et si, dès l'abord, sa pensée n'est point jugée neuve et piquante, la sentence fatale est déjà rendue." See also the interesting description by E. J.

Delécluze of the search of David and his School for significant subject matter (*Louis David, son école et son temps*, Paris, 1855, pp. 323ff.).

4. Cf. A. Aubert, *C. D. Friedrich*, Berlin, 1915; K. K. Eberlein, *C. D. Friedrichs Bekenntnisse*, Leipzig, 1924; H. von Einem, *C. D. Friedrich*, Berlin, 1937; O. G. von Simson, "Philipp Otto Runge and the Mythology of Landscape," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, p. 335; L. Eitner, "Géricault's 'Wounded Cuirassier,'" *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, pp. 237ff. and L. Johnson, "Some Unknown Sketches for the 'Wounded Cuirassier,'" *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, p. 78ff.; U. Christoffel, *Malerei und Poesie*, Zurich, 1948, pp. 27ff. and 37ff.



1. Martin Drölling, *Kitchen Interior* (1815). Paris, Louvre



2. L. M. Cochereau, *The Artist in his Studio* (ca. 1815)
Chartres, Musée



3. M. v. Schwind, *Morning* (1858). Munich, Schackgalerie



4. C. D. Friedrich, *Woman at the Window*
(ca. 1818). Berlin, Nationalgalerie



5. C. D. Friedrich, *Studio Window*
(watercolor, ca. 1818). Vienna, Belvedere



6. J. Alt, *Studio Window*
(watercolor, 1836). Vienna, Belvedere



7. C. G. Carus, *Studio Window in the Moonlight* (ca. 1820). Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle



8. A. Menzel, *Balcony Room* (1845)
Berlin, Nationalgalerie



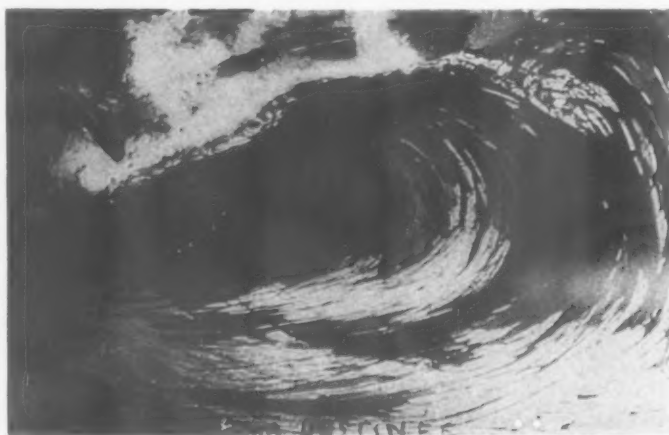
9. Th. Gericault, *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819). Paris, Louvre



10. C. D. Friedrich, *Shipwreck of the Hope* (1822). Hamburg, Kunsthalle



11. E. Delacroix, *Christ on the Sea of Galilee* (ca. 1855)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



12. Victor Hugo, *Ma Destinée* (1857)
Paris, Maison Victor Hugo

About 1810, there began a revival of genre painting which soon attained international scope, making itself felt in France and Germany, in the Scandinavian countries, the Lowlands and even in Russia.⁵ A host of "little masters" devoted themselves to intimate scenes of domestic life, resuming—in the teeth of academic disapproval—an eighteenth century vein which stemmed from the Dutch tradition. A touch of classicistic dryness and a certain hardness of contour relate their work stylistically to the grander performances of the time. Otherwise, these modest pictures amount to a renunciation, in form and feeling, of the heroic pathos of the Neoclassical school. The growing popularity of genre at the time indicates the gradual subversion of taste which led to the dethronement of David. Martin Drölling's *Kitchen Interior* (Fig. 1), which caused something of a sensation at the Paris Salon of 1817, excellently represents the type in its combination of a hard, detailed realism with a curious passivity of mood. The solitary readers and young women at their needlework which Georg Friedrich Kersting painted in Germany at about this time⁶ belong to the same class of genre. Common to all these pictures is the avoidance of everything that could be interpreted as narrative. There is no suggestion of humorous or sentimental anecdote, no hint of any significance beyond the visual presence of figures and objects. The interiors are of an austere middle-class simplicity, transfigured by patches of sunlight or the glow of a lamp. The quiet figures which inhabit them express no particular activity beyond that of appearing most comfortably "at home." The charm of untroubled existence emanates from these unpretentious compositions which, in their quiet distinctness, sometimes give the effect of intimate portraits. Their success with the public distressed conservative critics of the period⁷ who saw in them a relapse into the me-

5. In the following discussion, the term genre designates realistically conceived scenes from everyday life, and more particularly that branch of genre painting which is specialized in the representation of intimate interiors. Among the painters who took part in the vogue for this specialty during the years from about 1810 until about 1840, three generations and a variety of stylistic tendencies were represented. Some of these painters continued the traditions of Chardin and Greuze, others were influenced by the chroniclers of modern manners, such as Boilly, Carle Vernet, and Debucourt, still others reflected the rise of a painterly realism, tinged with romantic sentiment. In France, this last group is represented by such artists as Martin Drölling (1752-1817), his daughter, Louise A. Drölling-Joubert (1797-ca.1835), J. B. Mallet (1759-1835), Mme. M. G. Benoist (1768-1826), J. F. Swebach (1769-1823), F. H. Granet (1775-1848), A. Roehn (1780-1867), P. Duval le Camus (1790-1854), C. Bonnefond (Lyon, 1796-1860), M. P. Génod (Lyon, 1796-1862), X. Leprince (1799-1826) and C. Guet (1801-1871). In Germany we find J. E. Hummel (1769-1852), C. D. Friedrich (1774-1840), G. F. Kersting (1783-1847), C. G. Carus (1789-1869), G. W. Issel (1785-1870), J. B. von Seele (1774-1819), and E. Engert (1796-1871). In Denmark, similar tendencies are found among the pupils of C. W. Eckersberg (1783-1853), in C. Hansen (1804-1880), Wilhelm Bendz (1804-1832) and Christen Købke (1810-1848). In Russia, Alexis C. Venezianoff (1775-1846) painted domestic interiors influenced by Dutch and French (Granet) models.

In the nomenclature of the period, the label of "genre" was rather loosely applied to all paintings of small or "cabinet" size which did not deal with classical subjects, landscape, still life, or portrait. A survey of the catalogues and critical reviews of the Paris salons from 1808 until 1827 gives a clear view of the rapidly growing popularity of genre painting at this time and reveals the many different categories of genre. Seen in this wider context, the undramatic domestic interior which is our primary concern here constituted only a fraction of the total output, at least so far as French painting is concerned. In the beginning of this period, sentimental anecdotes, in the manner of Greuze, and illustrations of Molière and La Fontaine constituted the most common form of genre. Next to come to the fore were anecdotal accounts of mediaeval or Renaissance his-

tory. During the last years of the Empire, episodes from the lives of Duguesclin and Bayard abounded at the salons. It is noteworthy that while such "gothic" subjects were treated as genre, scenes from "Ossian" were usually given the format of history painting, being evidently considered as comparable in dignity to ancient mythology. At the beginning of the Restoration, patriotic mediaeval subjects became exceedingly popular but generally continued to be treated as genre. Sentimental romance and the *style troubadour* quite dominated the Salon of 1817. Eager to flatter the monarchy, genre painters particularly devoted themselves to the lives of Henry IV and Saint Louis. Deathbed scenes formed a considerable group within the general field of patriotic genre. At the Salon of 1817, no fewer than three versions of the *Death of St. Louis* could be seen, in addition to deathbed scenes involving Louis VI, Louis XII, Masaccio, and the Abbé Edgeworth (confessor to Louis XVI). Three further types of genre achieved great prominence during the years of the Restoration: military anecdotes, often with a Bonapartist point; picturesque scenes from the rural or monastic life of Italy, and episodes drawn from the plays of Shakespeare. It is interesting to observe that all these various forms of genre emerged within a style that still bore the stamp of Neoclassicism.

6. Such as the *Gentleman at his Desk* (1811), the *Reader by Lamplight* (1812), and the *Woman Doing Needlework by the Window*, all three at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar; and the *Reader by Lamplight* (1814) at the Stiftung Reinhart in Winterthur.

7. The success of these "Dutch" interiors and the exasperation it caused among the adherents of the Neoclassical school is reflected in the critical comments of the time. Landon's *Annales du Musée et de l'Ecole Moderne des Beaux-Arts*; Salon de 1819, Paris, 1820, II, p. 51, comment on the fad with restrained indignation: "Depuis quelques années, les intérieurs de cuisine font fortune et se multiplient. Le tableau de M. Drölling père représentant un sujet semblable, et qui fit fureur au salon de 1817, a été placé, depuis la mort de cet artiste, dans la galerie du Musée, à côté des chefs-d'oeuvre de notre école, et il continue d'y attirer non-seulement la foule des curieux de tous les rangs, mais encore une certaine classe de peintres qui font profession de fournir aux amateurs des copies de quelques tableaux qu'ils affectionnent. Aussi la Cuisine de Drölling est-

chanically imitative realism of a bygone time. Clearly, these pictures belong to the vanguard of the anticlassical movement, yet they are not pointedly romantic. They lack, at any rate, the picturesque or pantomimic effects which were soon to become the earmarks of romantic genre painting. It is tempting to accept their sobriety and realism as manifestations of a middle-class outlook, the early stirrings of the *Biedermeier* mood, and to search no further for a deeper meaning. Yet, unlikely though this might seem, some of these supposedly subjectless compositions contain signs of a symbolical intent.

It is in the work of the genre painters after 1810, on the threshold between classicism and romanticism, that the *figure at the window* first appears as a favorite motif. The typical picture of this kind shows an interior of fairly ordinary character, with a figure quietly at work or absorbed in meditation near a window.⁸ There is no need to suppose that these windows always have a special significance—in representing interiors it would be hard to avoid windows altogether (though eighteenth century genres had rather tended to do just that); we may ordinarily regard them as simple accessories and explain their prominence as indication of an interest in effects of light. But in some of these pictures, the window is clearly more than bywork. In Caspar David Friedrich's *Woman at the Window* (Fig. 4), for instance, it becomes the focus of the scene, more important perhaps than the figure that is shown looking through it into space. Nor is the window always an indispensable source of light; sometimes it reveals a nocturnal sky, with moon and transparent clouds, and provides a poetic rather than dryly realistic setting.

Quiet figures at the window are sometimes found in Dutch seventeenth century genres. Was there anything new in the use of this motif after 1810, or was it simply part of a more general imitation of Dutch models? There can be no doubt about the strength of the Dutch influence. It is traceable, in France, to the years of the Directoire and Empire when the Louvre displayed a brilliant selection of Dutch and Flemish pictures, many of them brought there as military loot. These pictures were so constantly besieged by copyists that the Louvre's administration had to devise ways of protecting them from damage.⁹ This enthusiasm, which was not confined to French artists, undoubtedly stimulated the revival of genre painting. But it does not really explain the popularity of such specific motifs as the figure at the window. Imitation, too, has its motivations; it is more important to discover why painters at the time were drawn to this motif, than to point out from where they might have received suggestions. Besides, there is a difference between the

elle contamment assiegée par trois ou quatre copistes travaillant à l'envi et tous à-la-fois, malgré la gêne et l'incommodité d'une semblable concurrence. Ils paraissent recommencer sans cesse la même copie, et vouloir éterniser un genre de travail sur lequel ils fondent, sinon leur réputation, au moins un bénéfice toujours renaissant. Nous sommes loin de blâmer un pareil zèle; il n'a rien qui doive étonner: mais nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de regretter que les immortels ouvrages du Corrège, du Titien et de quelques autres maîtres n'obtiennent pas la même faveur et les mêmes hommages."

Thiers remarks impartially: "On se plaint beaucoup aujourd'hui de cette desertion générale des artistes qui abandonnent l'histoire pour peindre le genre." (A. Thiers, *Salon de 1822*, Paris, 1822, p. 121.) Louis David himself had predicted the eventual triumph of genre over history painting as early as 1808 (cf. Jules David, *Le peintre Louis David*, Paris, 1880, p. 304), though he seems to have regarded mediaeval romance, rather than domestic genre, as the chief menace.

8. An early "romantic" use of the motif is to be found in the undated drawing by Henry Fuseli, *Girl Reading in Front of a Window* (Lowinsky collection: illustrated in N. Powell, *The Drawings of Henry Fuseli*, London, 1951, pl. 36), which seems related to Fuseli's polyautograph *O Evening, Thou Bringest All*, published in 1803 (cf. F. X. Man, *150 Years of Artists' Lithographs*, London, 1953, fig. 3). During the decades

that followed, the image was used frequently, particularly by German painters from Friedrich and Kersting (cf. the *Couple at the Window* in a private collection in Dresden) down to A. Menzel (cf. *Young Woman at the Window*, etching, ca. 1843). In France, this type became something of a specialty with M. Drölling the elder (cf. *Peasant Girl at the Window*, Musée d'Aix) and his daughter Louise Adeone Drölling-Joubert (examples in the Musée Carnavalet and the City Art Museum of St. Louis). By 1845, the motif had already gained a definite period flavor and was considered a little old-fashioned, at least by Baudelaire: "Le tableau de madame Céleste Pensotti s'appelle *Réverie du Soir*. Ce tableau, un peu maniéré comme son titre, mais joli comme le nom de l'auteur, est d'un sentiment fort distingué.—Ce sont deux jeunes femmes, l'une appuyée sur l'épaule de l'autre, qui regardent à travers une fenêtre ouverte.—Le vert et le rose, ou plutôt le verdâtre et le rosâtre, y sont doucement combinés. Cette jolie composition, malgré ou peut-être à cause de son afféterie naïve d'album romantique, ne nous déplaît pas:—cela a une qualité trop oubliée aujourd'hui. C'est élégant,—cela sent bon." (Cf. C. Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," *Curiosités esthétiques*, Paris, 1946, p. 48.)

9. Cf. F. Boinet, *L'Art français sous la révolution et l'empire*, Paris, 1897, p. 118.

way the window was treated in Dutch genres and the way in which it is shown in nineteenth century interiors.¹⁰ The distinctive innovation in these latter is that they focus attention on the view *through* the window into a distance far beyond. Characteristically, they place the open window in the center, while in Dutch genres it is seen obliquely, in strong foreshortening, as a source of light but not an opening into space.

The image of the figure at the window became imbedded in the romantic imagination and played a role in painting and in literature which it is difficult to attribute solely to its formal appeal or to its descent from Dutch genre. Thus when Keats wrote to Fanny: "I should like the window to open onto the Lake of Geneva—and there I'd sit and read all day, like the picture of somebody reading" it is not necessary to suppose that he had a Dutch "picture" in mind.¹¹ Whatever its origin, the image strongly preoccupied a number of painters in the period around 1810-1830 and can be traced beyond this time into the works of Schwind (Fig. 3) and Menzel, the pre-Raphaelites and other artists belonging to the various romantic currents. Something of the intimacy of portraiture clings to these window-centered interiors, and it is not surprising to find that the formula was adapted for actual portraits. Painters of this period often opened up conspicuous window-framed vistas behind their sitters. They particularly liked to portray themselves or their colleagues in this kind of setting, as if it held a special meaning for them.¹² The portrait, by F. G. Kersting, of Caspar David Friedrich at the studio window (ca. 1811; Nationalgalerie, Berlin) is a case in point. A French parallel to it is the small self-portrait by L. M. Cocherneau (Fig. 2), who is best known for his picture of David's studio (Louvre), but who also painted window-views and panoramic city-scapes. In his self-portrait, he appears at a more academic task, in front of a window through which the distant skyline of Montmartre beckons. Seated between a plaster Apollo and a view of sky and space, the artist seems to personify the conflict that plagued a generation of painters torn between nature and antiquity. The autobiographical note in these fairly numerous paintings which show the artist at work before a window or display the paraphernalia of art at a window¹³ suggests that these were not merely the product of a fashion but amounted to a more personal statement pertaining to the artist himself, to his outlook and his craft.

Besides these window-centered genre paintings and portraits, there exists a kind of composition in which the window itself is the sole motif (Figs. 5-8).¹⁴ No figures are present to lend thematic interest to the scene. Properly speaking, these pictures cannot be considered as genre paintings at all, nor is it possible to find a precedent for them in the Dutch tradition. The pure window-view is a romantic innovation—neither landscape, nor interior, but a curious combination of both. It brings the confinement of an interior into the most immediate contrast with an immensity of space outside, outdoors, a space which need not be a landscape, but can be a view of houses or of the

10. Rather than in Holland, the specifically "romantic" use of the window motif may have had its origins in Germany, where it appears, in the late decades of the eighteenth century, in the work of such artists as G. F. Schmidt (1712-1775; cf. his *Self-Portrait in Front of a Window*, etching), J. Klengel, and W. Kobell. W. Tischbein's well-known drawing of *Goethe at the Window* (1787; Goethe National-Museum, Weimar) curiously anticipates C. D. Friedrich's *Woman at the Window* of 1818. Cf. also the early occurrence of this motif in the work of Fuseli, note 8 above.

11. As the fanciful context of this passage makes clear; cf. Maurice B. Forman, *The Letters of John Keats*, 4th ed., London, 1952, p. 286.

12. Among the numerous examples of portraits and portrait-groups with window backgrounds, see J. E. Hummel's *Luise Mila* (Nationalgalerie, Berlin) and *Chess Players* (ca. 1818; Provinzialmuseum, Hannover); C. Begas' *The Artist's Family* (1821, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne); K. Fohr's *Young Englishman at the Window* (watercolor, ca. 1816; Heidelberg Museum); C. Hansen's *Danish Artists in Rome*

(1837, Statens Museum, Copenhagen). For portraits of artists at the window, cf. C. M. Charpentier, *Charlotte du Val d'Ognes* (Metropolitan Museum, New York); L. A. Drölling-Joubert, *Young Woman Tracing Flowers at the Window* (City Art Museum, St. Louis); K. Steffek, *Self-Portrait at the Window* (1839; Nationalgalerie, Berlin).

13. An amusing example of this type is the picture attributed to M. Drölling the elder (but more likely by some follower) of a *Paris Interior* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford) which shows the artist's easel near a window. The view through the window appears on the canvas upon the easel.

14. Other examples of pure window-views, cf. J. E. Hummel, *View from a Window* (Märkisches Museum, Berlin); G. Schadow, *View of Bad Neundorf Through a Window* (drawing, 1827; Akademie der Künste, Berlin); C. Købke, *View from Eckersberg's Studio* (Kunstmuseum, Copenhagen); G. Barret, *View from a Window* (watercolor, ca. 1820; Windsor Castle); A. Menzel, *Bedroom Window* (1847; Nationalgalerie, Berlin) and *View from a Window* (watercolor, 1867, Stiftung Reinhart, Winterthur).

empty sky. It often places the beholder so close to the window that little more than an enclosing frame of darkness remains of the interior, but this is sufficient to maintain the suggestion of a separation between him and the world outside. He is actually put in the position of the "figure at the window." The situation closely resembles a favorite theme in romantic literature: the poet at the window surveys a distant landscape and is troubled by a desire to escape from his narrow existence into the world spread out before him. Thus is a poem by Eichendorff which bears the characteristic title "Longing":

Es schienen so golden die Sterne,
Am Fenster ich einsam stand
Und hörte aus weiter Ferne
Ein Posthorn im stillen Land.
Das Herz mir im Leibe entbrennte,
Da hab ich mir heimlich gedacht:
Ach, wer da mitreisen konnte
In der prächtigen Sommernacht!¹⁵

The window is like a threshold and at the same time a barrier. Through it, nature, the world, the active life beckon, but the artist remains imprisoned, not unpleasantly, in domestic snugness. The window image thus illustrates perfectly the themes of frustrated longing, of lust for travel or escape which run through romantic literature. It contrasts what A. W. Schlegel called the "poetry of possession"—the intimate interior—with the "poetry of desire"—the tempting spaces outside. This juxtaposition of the very close and the far-away adds a peculiar tension to the sense of distance, more poignant than could be achieved in pure landscape. "Everything at a distance," wrote Novalis, "turns into poetry: distant mountains, distant people, distant events; all become romantic."¹⁶ The emotional stress on the view of space from an enclosing shelter, on the tension between the human and the natural setting, between the "inside" and the "outside," are such striking features in these paintings (and in their literary parallels) that the expression "view from the window" has been quite properly used to characterize a romantic attitude toward nature.¹⁷ But the contrast between the interior space and the space outside need not be literally represented to achieve this effect. Some of these paintings merely hint at it. In Carl Gustav Carus' *Studio Window in the Moonlight* (Fig. 7), the moonlight in the curtain describes the night beyond the window; and in Menzel's picture (Fig. 8), the sunlight and the air from the world outside enter a quiet room, quite tangibly, in the luminous folds of a curtain.

The evidence suggests that it may not be fanciful to interpret the image of the window as it appears in certain early nineteenth century "genres" as the symbol of a romantic attitude toward nature which particularly concerned the artist, a symbol hidden under the appearance of casual reality, the product of a time and a society that loved poetic suggestion but disliked the artificiality of outright allegory. In this image, elements of middle-class realism blend with an essentially unheroic, idyllic view of the world, tinged with melancholy and expressive of a somewhat frustrated, sedentary nature-love. It seems to have appealed especially to artists whose outlook wavered between romantic and classicist attitudes, and there certainly is significance in the fact that the

15. "Sehnsucht," cf. J. F. Eichendorff's *sämtliche poetische Werke*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1883, p. 61. The poem was first printed in 1834, but may date somewhat earlier. Roughly translated, it reads as follows: "The stars shone so golden/ I stood at the window alone/ And heard from a distance/ A post-horn in the quiet night./ My heart ached within me/ And I thought to myself:/ Oh, if only I could travel along/ into the marvellous summer night."

16. "So wird alles in der Entfernung Poesie, ferne Berge,

ferne Menschen, ferne Begebenheiten, usw., alles wird romantisch." Novalis *Schriften* (edited by J. Minor), Jena, 1907, II, p. 301.

17. U. Christoffel, *Malerei und Poesie*, Zurich, 1948, pp. 40 and 49. Concerning the romantic artists' contrasting of the far and the near, cf. A. Dorner, "Zur Raumvorstellung der Romantik," 4. Kongress für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1931.

window-view came to prominence again, much later, in the Epicurean, Neoromantic work of Bonnard and Matisse.

In contrast to the image of the open window, which is easily mistaken for simple genre, the symbolism of the *storm-tossed boat* is ancient and familiar. Used to dramatize man's struggle against fate or against nature, or to point up the need for salvation, it occurs in poetry and painting with the frequency of a popular figure of speech. A typical statement of it is this line from John Webster's *White Devil*, written about 1610: "My soul, like a ship in a black storm, is driven, I know not whither."¹⁸

The appeal of this ancient image was so strong that it persisted in the popular imagination into the nineteenth century. Ludwig Richter, the German Romantic painter, tells in his *Memoirs* how he suffered a spiritual crisis during a stay in Rome in the 1820's, and in describing his mental torment he uses these words: "I felt like a lonely navigator on the open seas who is driven by wind and waves, without compass or rudder; night in the sky and no star for a guide."¹⁹

In its overtly allegorical form, the image of the storm-tossed boat appeared from time to time in romantic art: an example of it is Thomas Cole's cycle of the *Voyage of Life* (St. Luke's Hospital, New York), painted in 1840. In *Manhood*, the third painting of this series, "the boat is plunging amid the turbulent waters. The Voyager . . . looks imploringly toward heaven, as if heaven's aid alone could save him from the perils that surround him." In *Old Age*, the "boat, shattered by storms . . . is seen gliding over the deep waters."²⁰ The image of the drifting boat, sometimes helplessly becalmed, sometimes thrown about by tremendous waves continued to be used until the end of the century to spell out a moral or religious message concerning the fate of man.²¹ We find it again in the work of Ryder²² and Odilon Redon.²³ But allegory, too baldly stated, was not congenial to the romantic outlook. Thomas Cole's picture, for example, drew sharp criticism because of its use of an artificial and obvious device.²⁴ The taste of the time demanded that the allegory be fitted plausibly into some narrative context or that it be disguised in apparent reality. Thus decently veiled, the image might preserve its original meaning, disclosing it only to the thoughtful beholder.

Géricault's true intention in painting the *Raft of the Medusa* (Fig. 9) has often been discussed.²⁵ The picture refers to an actual occurrence, a shipwreck which had caused the French government

18. Act V, scene 6, verse 249; F. L. Lucas, *The Complete Works of John Webster*, London, 1927, I, p. 190.

19. Ludwig Richter, *Lebenserinnerungen eines deutschen Malers*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 185.

20. Cf. Cole's own explanations of the pictures, quoted in full in L. Noble, *The Course of Empire, Voyage of Life and Other Pictures of Thomas Cole*, New York, 1853, pp. 287-289.

21. This is true also of nineteenth century literature in which this image recurs with great frequency from Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (1798) to Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851). The latter includes a remarkable description of "a very large oil painting," encountered at the Spouter Inn, which "represents a Cape-Horner in a great hurricane; the half-foundered ship weltering there with its three dismantled masts alone visible; and an exasperated whale, purposing to spring clean over the craft, is in the enormous act of impaling himself upon the three mast-heads." (*Moby Dick*, Modern Library ed., New York, 1926, p. 11.)

22. Thus for instance in the allegory *Coustance*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

23. Cf. the pastels *Adrift* and *La Barque*, both exhibited, during 1951 and 1952, at the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Walker Art Center of Minneapolis.

24. Cf. the review of Cole's pictures in the article "Allegory in Art," *The Crayon*, III, April 1856, p. 114.

25. For various interpretations of the *Medusa*, its meaning

and the influences upon it, see C. Clement, *Géricault*, Paris, 1868, pp. 119 and 166; R. Regamey, *Géricault*, Paris, 1926, p. 27; G. Oprescu, *Géricault*, Paris, 1927, p. 92; J. Knowlton, "The Stylistic Origins of Géricault's Raft of the Medusa," *Marsyas* II (1942), p. 125; B. Nicolson, "The 'Raft' from the Point of View of Subject Matter," *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, p. 241; J. W. Fowle, *The Raft of the Medusa*, doctoral dissertation, Harvard University. An example of the literary allusions present in the *Medusa* is the group of the old man who mourns over the body of his son, at the stern of the raft. Though this group may have been suggested by an episode of the shipwreck (the death of a twelve year old boy on the raft), Géricault has given it a form and interpretation that has no basis in actual occurrence. The similarity of this group to familiar representations of Ugolino in the Pisan Tower was apparent enough at the time of the first exhibition of the *Medusa* to be commented on by reviewers. It appears that Géricault inserted this quotation from Dante by way of indirect reference to the outbreak of cannibalism which was the most notorious horror connected, in the public's mind, with the shipwreck of the *Medusa*. At one time, Géricault had actually planned to represent the men on the raft in the act of devouring the cadavers of their companions. But in composing his final version, he omitted all direct representations of cannibalism, substituting this "Ugolino-motif" for them as a hint to the knowing spectator.

serious embarrassment. It was only natural to interpret Géricault's intention in a political light. The *Raft of the Medusa* was specifically attacked in the monarchist press because of its supposed subversive implications. Géricault himself ridiculed these accusations, and there are good reasons for believing that his main intention was not political. Some have seen in the painting a realist manifesto against the tired idealism of the Neoclassical school, a challenge conceived in deliberately crass and sensational terms. But it is not difficult to prove that, far from being a quasi-journalistic shocker, the *Raft of the Medusa* is actually an elaborate intellectual construction, shot through with literary allusions and reminiscences of past art. Still another explanation was offered by Michelet, the historian, who detected in the painting the flavor of allegory. Writing just before the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, he described it as representing the French people drifting into the darkness of political reaction, "an image so cruelly true that its subject refused to recognize it."²⁶ Géricault himself, in a letter in which he defends his picture against political attacks, put the emphasis on a different aspect: he claimed a compassionate interest in the human misery of the men on the raft.²⁷ We may reject Michelet's allegorical interpretation, though it is significant in its own right as a typically romantic view. But it does appear that for Géricault the *Raft* was a more broadly humanitarian and at the same time a more personal *symbol* than is recognized by those who interpret it as a political pamphlet or a statement of artistic doctrine. The drama of starvation, murder, insanity, and the ultimate horror of cannibalism in themselves held a powerful fascination for Géricault. Combined with the suggestive image of a craft helplessly drifting in the storm, this drama assumed a more profound meaning. The very construction of Géricault's picture symbolizes the conflict between human will and elemental forces. The long rising diagonal of gesticulating figures straining toward rescue is inexorably crossed by the contrary lines of mast and sail which pull the raft toward the threatening wave that rises behind it.²⁸

It is a remarkable coincidence that Lord Byron composed the great shipwreck canto of his *Don Juan* precisely at the time when Géricault was painting the *Raft of the Medusa*, during the winter of 1818-1819. The poem and the painting resemble one another in many respects. In both, the image of a craft abandoned to the ocean with its cargo of suffering and death recalls the traditional use of the storm-tossed boat as symbol of a distressed humanity isolated in a menacing or malignant universe.

Three years after the *Medusa*, the German Caspar David Friedrich invented an even grimmer variation of the shipwreck theme (Fig. 10): a sailing vessel being crushed between jagged mountains of ice in the midst of a frozen sea. Friedrich's picture, like the *Medusa*, was based upon the account of an actual shipwreck.²⁹ It is conceived with such emphasis on topographical detail that at first sight it gives the appearance of an effort at a purely realistic visualization of the event. But Friedrich's approach to reality, as is well known, was that of a seeker after symbols. In this instance,

26. Jules Michelet, *Cours professés au Collège de France, 1847-1848*, Paris, 1848; Cf. P. Courthion, *Géricault raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, Geneva, 1947, p. 114.

27. See Géricault's letter to his friend Musigny, quoted by Ch. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 171: "I have been accused by a certain *Drapeau blanc* of having slandered the entire Ministry of the Navy by the expression of one of the heads in my picture. The wretches who write such stupidities have certainly never had to go without food for two weeks, for they might realize otherwise that neither poetry nor painting could ever fully render the horror and the anguish of the men on the raft."

28. The theme of shipwreck recurs in Géricault's work. A variation of it is the so-called *Epave*, a composition of which two versions are known (Louvre and Musée de l'Art Moderne, Brussels). It represents the body of a shipwrecked person—man or woman—thrown on a rocky beach by huge breakers. According to Ch. Clément (*Géricault*, Paris, 1868, p. 293, no. 67), it was based upon a picture which Horace Vernet painted for a Russian collector in Géricault's studio. Vernet's account

books (published by Armand Dayot, Les Vernet, Paris, 1898, pp. 189ff.) give no clue to the identity or subject of the painting that served as Géricault's model. But there exist at least two lithographs by Vernet which present similar themes and may derive from that painting. Both resemble in a general way the arrangement of rocks, waves, and sky in Géricault's *Epave*. One of these, dated 1822, represents the body of a shipwrecked man being recovered on a beach. The other, undated, is entitled *Naufrage de Don Juan* and represents the unconscious Don Juan being discovered on the shores of Greece. This suggests the possibility, at least, of a connection between Géricault's *Epave* and Byron's poem. It might be noted that Géricault illustrated several incidents drawn from Byron's works, such as the *Death of Mazeppa*, the *Giaour*, *Lara* and the *Bride of Abydos*.

29. According to old accounts, the subject was suggested by "Captain Perry's Narrative," cf. Herbert von Einem, *Caspar David Friedrich*, Berlin, n.d., pp. 56, 110, 115.

the ship's name gives us a clue to his deeper intention. The picture is entitled *Shipwreck of the Hope* (Fig. 10)—it is man's hope which is being crushed by the floes. More openly than Géricault, Friedrich here presents a symbol of nature's indifference to humanity; as his biography makes clear, this tragedy in the ice had a quite specific personal meaning to him. In his youth, he had seen his brother drown in a skating accident, and the memory of this death obsessed him throughout his life and contributed to his chronic melancholia.

Delacroix's *Bark of Dante* (1822; Louvre) was painted under the influence of the *Raft of the Medusa*. It is the first in a long series of pictures in which Delacroix treated the theme of the distressed boat, a subject which was to occupy his imagination until the end of his life. The motif recurs in his various shipwreck compositions—such as the *Abandoned Shipwrecked Men* (Salon of 1847), in the *Shipwreck of Don Juan* (Salon of 1841) which hints, like the *Medusa* at the Dantesque horror of cannibalism, and in the different versions of *Christ on the Sea of Galilee* (Fig. 11).³⁰ The textual reference changes from picture to picture, but the image of shipwreck remains constant. It was very evidently this image that basically attracted Delacroix, not the shifting narrative subjects; they merely gave him an opportunity for presenting what appears to have been a private symbol.

The motif of the storm-tossed boat thus occurs in a variety of ways in nineteenth century painting: as frank allegory in Cole and Ryder, as modern reality in Géricault and Friedrich, as narrative illustration in Delacroix. In a drawing by Victor Hugo (Fig. 12), one of several from his hand which deal with the theme of shipwreck, the image assumes the form of fantasy. Hugo's drawing has a special interest for us, because in it the artist openly declares a symbolical intention: the sheet is quite legibly inscribed "Ma Destinée." It shows a huge wave about to engulf a foundering wreck. The chaotic turbulence of this vision and the way in which water, foam, sky, and ship are drawn into a great rotating vortex strikingly recall the late sea-storms of William Turner, such as the *Fire at Sea* and the *Ship in a Snowstorm* (both at the Tate Gallery). On the verso of another somewhat similar drawing, Hugo noted the following explanation: "Au revers de ce carton, j'ai barbouillé ma destinée: un bateau battu de la tempête au beau milieu du monstrueux océan, a peu près désemparé, assailli par les ouragans et par toutes les écumes et n'ayant qu'un peu de fumée, qu'on appelle la gloire, que le vent arrache, et qui est sa force."³¹

In the image of the open window, a fragment of reality becomes the expression of a romantic attitude; in the storm-tossed boat, an old allegorical device is adapted to romantic sentiment. Nature appears as a lure in the one, as a threat in the other. The boat image proclaims a tragic view of life and does so in a manner that is more definitely philosophical than the vague poetry of longing and frustrated desire which is expressed by the open window. Neither image can be traced to any single painter's invention, nor can it be explained in terms of historical origins alone. In relating the open window to Dutch genre, we do not explain the meaning which it assumed in nineteenth-century art; nor can we derive the romantic version of the storm-tossed boat from the picturesque shipwrecks of Salvator Rosa and Joseph Vernet. There exists only a fairly loose connection between the use of these images and the various stylistic movements within romantic painting. The open window, to be sure, was more common in German than in French painting, and it was particularly favored by artists of bourgeois inclinations, such as the classicizing realist Drölling or the proto-impressionist Menzel. The storm-tossed boat, on the other hand, chiefly attracted artists representing the dramatic and essentially "baroque" strain in romantic art. But these very general observations are far from constituting rules. There is little stylistic resemblance between

30. See, by way of comparison, the picture of *Christ Walking on the Waters* (Kunsthalle, Hamburg) which P. O. Runge painted in 1807 as a night scene and evidently as a complement to his *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* which is an allegory

of Morning.

31. *Catalogue des dessins de Victor Hugo, exposés au Musée Rath, Geneva, 1951, No. 89, p. 21.*

Friedrich's *Shipwreck of the Hope* and Turner's *Fire at Sea*, although in their meaning they may not be too far apart.

It is not likely, of course, that every shipwreck picture and every open window was consciously intended as a symbol. Certain artists, as can be demonstrated, interpreted them so; others appear to have been drawn to them spontaneously, without reasoned intent. Considered as symbols, these images do not stand for perfectly clear-cut ideas, but for attitudes and feelings of a fairly diffuse kind. They were chosen—consciously by some artists, more or less intuitively by others—because they gave visual form to feelings otherwise vague and inexpressible, to feelings which were part of the general emotional climate of the time. This explains their widespread occurrence, in literature and in art, and their use by artists who belonged to rather diverse stylistic currents.

It is perhaps not wholly unreasonable to regard the divorce of the visual from the poetic imagination as a central crisis in nineteenth century art. The inability to achieve a natural unity of form and idea was the curse of painters from David onward. It was responsible, in part, for their frequent aberrations into painted literature on the one hand and into decorative formalism on the other. Seen in this context, the symbolical imagery of the time, such as is exemplified by the open window and the storm-tossed boat, assumes a certain significance. However modest and aesthetically insignificant some of these works may be, they represent an effort to restore the identity of image and meaning and strive for an art in which pictorial form is the hieroglyphic of feeling and thought. "In representing the most significant and vital reality around us," wrote Philipp Otto Runge in 1802, "we render symbols of the world's great forces. . . . These symbols we use when explaining to others great events, beautiful thoughts about nature, and the sweet or terrible sensations of our soul."³²

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³². Letter to his brother Daniel, 9 March 1802, quoted in Berlin, 1919, pp. 152ff.
E. Cassirer, *Künstlerbriefe aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*,

NOTE

STA. COSTANZA: AN ADDENDUM

AFTER the appearance of my note on Sta. Costanza,¹ Erwin Panofsky, with that omnipresence of knowledge which is his, called my attention to another so far neglected document for the existence of a mosaic depicting Dionysos and the Tyrrhenians in that building. While I am ashamed that it escaped me, it furnishes a most welcome and unequivocal confirmation of the fact that Sta. Costanza was built as a pagan mausoleum.

Gyraldus who, as Professor Panofsky notes, could not have seen the mosaic after 1527 and, therefore, writes from memory: "*Philostratus Bacchi etiam imaginem in navi elegantissime descripsit, qua Tyrrhenis nautis furorum immisit; eosque demum in delphinos convertit. Memini me has effictas nugas spectasse pulcherrimis ex musivo opere figuris in templo olim Bacchi Romae nunc divae Agnae dicato.*"² Panofsky further points out that the passage in Cartari quoted in my note³ corresponds so closely in its wording to that of Gyraldus that Cartari's dependence on his *Syntagma*, first published in 1548, seems evident. And he concludes that Cartari, rather than seeing the mosaic himself, got his information about it from Gyraldus, because, had he had occasion to examine it in person, he would probably have corrected the erroneous reference to S. Agnese. I am still inclined to believe that Cartari may have seen the mosaic after reading about it in Gyraldus. However that may be, as Panofsky states, Gyraldus is a far superior source of information to Cartari. All those interested in the problem of Sta. Costanza owe Professor Panofsky gratitude for having called attention to this document.

In the meantime, Richard Krautheimer has called my attention to another and rather puzzling reference to the Bacchic decoration of Sta. Costanza. John Evelyn refers to the building in the following passage under the date of November 12, 1644: "The Church of Santa Costanza has a noble cupola. Here they shew'd us a stone ship borne on a column heretofore sacred to Bacchus, as the rilievo intimates by the drunken emblemes and instruments wrought upon it. The altar is of rich porphyrie, as I remember."⁴

To appreciate the value or lack of value of this odd bit, one must realize that in their present form these "diaries" were compiled late in the author's life, being based on diary notes actually made at the time, on details taken from guide books and historical works, on drawings made by himself and for him, possibly on *vedute* and largely on mere recollection. Wherever Evelyn uses such phrases as he does here, he indicates uncertainty about the correctness of his memory. In the present case, he refers to an object the very existence of which is highly improbable: a Bacchic ship of marble on top of a column. It seems unlikely that such a curious object in such a conspicuous place would not have been mentioned by anybody else. He surely got mixed up between his notes and recollections.⁵ But a reference to a ship with Bacchic emblems in Sta. Costanza he must have found in his notes or harbored in his memory. It seems likely that this was again the mosaic seen by Gyraldus and referred to by Cartari which in 1644 was still in place or had been preserved as a fragment of the dismantled floor, since still later the center of this floor mosaic was recorded by Bartoli.⁶ If, with hesitation, John Evelyn may be added to the other sources for the representation of *gesta Bacchi* in Sta. Costanza.

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1. ART BULLETIN, XXXVII, 1955, pp. 193ff.

2. L. G. Gyraldi *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Jensijs, Leiden, 1696, I, p. 271.

3. Lehmann, *op.cit.*, p. 194 n. 10.

4. *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq. F. R. S.*, ed. by W. Bray, London, 1892, p. 95.

5. A similar thing happened to him in connection with another ship represented in mosaic—no less than the famous

Navicella mosaic of Giotto which he mentions as follows (*ibid.*, p. 104): "Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabriq is that of the ship with St. Peter held up from sinking by our Saviour; the emblems about it are the Mosaiq of the famous Giotto, who restor'd and made it perfect after it had been defaced by the Barbarians."

6. Lehmann, *op.cit.*, p. 195 and fig. 3.



BOOK REVIEWS

INDIA, PAINTINGS FROM AJANTA CAVES, introduction by Mandanjeet Singh, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society (UNESCO World Art Series), 1954. Pp. 111; 32 pls. \$15.00.

The group of Buddhist cave temples at Ajanta is, among other things, the main repository of early Indian painting. Consequently, Ajanta has tremendous importance for art historical as well as aesthetic reasons. Contemporaneous paintings at Bagh, a few hundred miles to the northwest, have been all but obliterated in recent decades, while the few sixth or seventh century murals at Sittanavasal, near Pudukottai in the deep south, have been seriously damaged within the last twenty years. A few fragments of paintings at Ellora and at Badami in the Deccan are pitiable remnants of a former glory. One must go to Sigiriya in Ceylon to find another important, if somewhat less varied, complex of Indian paintings of the same period, and even these are heavily restored.

The present volume on Ajanta is the first of the UNESCO World Art Series "devoted to the rare art masterpieces of the world." The New York Graphic Society will publish the entire series. The initial work, a huge, handsome book measuring thirteen by nearly nineteen inches, was printed in Italy. It consists of 32 large color plates, a brief introduction, and three half-tone illustrations, two of exterior views of the caves and one of an interior. Thus the volume is primarily a picture book and as such serves as a splendid introduction to Indian painting of the fifth and sixth centuries. The color, when checked with memory, appears to be excellent and superior to any other reproductions of Ajanta yet made. The selection of pictures in a book of this sort is always open to debate, and I, for one, would have liked a few illustrations with more comprehensive views of larger areas and some examples of the earlier paintings which date as far back as the second century B.C. But as a selected group of color plates intended, as stated, to acquaint a large public with "an art which holds a supreme position in Asian art history," this book admirably fulfills its purpose.

For the art historian this volume brings into sharp focus the great need for substantial monographs on Indian antiquities. Ajanta has fared better than most sites in India in terms of interest and publication. Yet no comprehensive study of these temples has yet appeared. Even G. Yazdani's four-volume work¹ on Ajanta is concerned primarily with the paintings, specifically with subject matter, and only incidentally with questions of dating. The architecture and sculptures of the temples are almost completely ignored. Furthermore, no attempt is made to place any one of these arts in its cultural milieu. This is not meant as a criticism of Yazdani, but as a commentary on the amount of work that still remains to be done before we can arrive at a real understanding of Ajanta's

position in the history of art. The present situation is much as if Chartres were known to us only by splendid publications of the stained glass windows with little or no reference to the architecture, the sculpture, or even to the times of the cathedral.

For the study of many important sites there are only sundry, often inaccurate, pamphlets and guidebooks. The different series of *Memoirs* published by the various branches of the Archaeological Survey of India contain much valuable information, but, at best, these volumes provide only basic source materials. What are some of the great monuments to be studied? There are, for example, the sculptural caves of Badami in the Deccan, the many temples at nearby Aihole and Pattadakal, the nearly thirty temples of Bhubaneswar in Orissa, and the equally extensive Khajuraho group in Central India. These are the better known sites. There are hundreds of other individual temples and temple compounds all over India. Some, like the two standing temples of Kodumbalur, perhaps the most beautiful of all early Chola monuments in South India, are unknown to most scholars in India as well as in the West. There is, also to mention one other site, the Hindu stone city of Vijayanagar (nine square miles of ruins near Hampi), which was described as one of the most magnificent cities of the world by Portuguese travelers of the sixteenth century.

The UNESCO volume on Ajanta surely will bring the undisputed beauty of at least one phase of Indian art to a large public. Perhaps it will even arouse some scholars to take a new look at the old arts of India.

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GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON: *The Art and Architecture of Russia* (The Pelican History of Art), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1954. Pp. 320, 180 pls. \$8.50.

It is to the credit of the *Pelican History of Art* to have included in its series a comprehensive survey of Russian art, a subject which too often is considered as peripheral and exotic. The book under review is a scholarly and, on the whole, well-documented piece of work. The author has taken advantage of research in the Russian language and he is not, perhaps, to be blamed if his information is not always completely up-to-date. The study of Russian art has progressed considerably since I. E. Grabar's classic work (1908-1915), and it is to be regretted that Professor Hamilton has been unable to use the new *History of Russian Art*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, of which the first two volumes (1953 and 1954) are now available in this country. Another drawback for which the author cannot be held responsible is that

1. G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, London, 4 parts, I (1930), II (1933), III (1946), IV (1954).

he has not seen and lived with the monuments he is discussing, which unavoidably lends a derivative character to his book.

In a short survey like this one, the main problem is what to omit. The author has chosen to limit himself to the period from the Christianization of Russia to the fall of the Empire, and within this time span to the major arts of architecture, painting and sculpture. The art of pagan Russia, except for the Greek objects found in the Black Sea region, is certainly of little artistic interest, although, to some extent, it helps to place later developments in their context. More noticeable, in a field where ornament holds such a predominant place, is the omission of the minor arts. But even among the subjects covered, there are important gaps. The most serious, perhaps, is the exclusion of the illuminated manuscripts, some of which, like the Ostromirov Gospels (1056-1057) with their curious imitation of enamel effects, the Codex Gertrudensis (1078-1087), Svyatoslav's *Izbornik* (1073), the Mstislav Gospels (1103-1117), the Yuriev Gospels (1120-1128) and others, are deservedly famous, and fill out our knowledge of early Russian painting. Domestic and civic architecture are not sufficiently emphasized, although it may have been worth pointing out, for instance, the grandiose layout of Yaroslav's Kiev, and later that of Vladimir. Something more could have been said about the palace of Bogoliubovo, with its remarkable stone bridge connecting the princely residence with the church, while the fifteenth century palace of Prince Dmitri at Uglich also deserved to be included. The account of Kievan painting is rather thin, while for the northern school one misses the church of St. George at Staraya Ladoga (ca. 1180) which, after the destruction of Spas-Nereditsa, is the most important surviving monument of Novgorodian painting of the pre-Mongol period, as well as the Spaso-Mirojski monastery at Pskov (middle of the twelfth century) with its particularly rich iconographic cycle.

There are, besides, many inaccuracies in matters of detail. Here are a few examples taken from the mediaeval period, which is probably of most interest to art historians. The mosaics at St. Michael's at Kiev need not be later than 1108: Lazarev dates them to the end of the eleventh century. The Pantocrator of St. Sophia, Kiev, is surrounded, not supported, by four archangels. Which is the "early tenth-century church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople"? The earliest piece of Russian painting, that strangely archaic fragment of fresco from the Desyatinnaya church depicting the two eyes (not just the right eye) and nose of an unknown saint, is hardly "typical of Byzantine art of the second Golden Age." It is highly unlikely that the original Desyatinnaya, which we know to have been built by Greek masters, was a basilica. In its enlarged form it had twenty-five "tops." If the "perambulatory" is considered a later addition, the primary kernel is quite typical of the mid-Byzantine cross-in-square plan. The comparison with the five-aisled Nea Ekklesia (which, incidentally, was not dedicated to the Virgin) is therefore more applicable to the enlarged Desyatinnaya or to St. Sophia, rather than to Vladimir's

first masonry church. The princely church of St. Nicholas built by Mstislav (1113) had five domes, not one. It is not certain that the outer gallery of St. Sophia at Novgorod is a later addition. Its lower story may have been part of the original building. In the main dome of the same church are pictures of prophets, not apostles, and the Pantocrator, now destroyed, was of the sixteenth century, not of the twelfth century. The fresco of SS. Constantine and Helena is now believed to be of the eleventh, not of the twelfth century. The church of the Annunciation at Novgorod (1179) is original to only half its height, so that its gable roof is of no significance. The Ascension in the dome of Spas-Nereditsa may be due to provincial rather than Constantinopolitan influence, but it can hardly be described as a departure from the mid-Byzantine scheme. It is not certain that the frescoes at Volotovo were made in 1363, since that year may refer to the earlier stratum of painting discovered in the sanctuary. The presence of direct Western influence at Volotovo is not as obvious today as it was to Ainalov. Are the figure sculptures of St. Dmitri's church at Vladimir really inspired by frescoes? Mschatta is certainly not of the fifth century.

Although minor inaccuracies, of which the above are a sampling, detract somewhat from the authority of Professor Hamilton's book, it is, on the whole, sound and well written, and, what is more important, it places Russian art in a truer perspective than modern Soviet authors are apt to do, in spite of their undeniably richer information. Free from every kind of partisanship, Professor Hamilton is especially successful in presenting the development of local Russian tradition within the wider context of European art, so that even such seemingly unattractive topics as Muscovite church architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are treated with clarity and understanding.

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HANNS SWARZENSKI, *Monuments of Romanesque Art, The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. 102; 238 pls. \$25.00.

Dramatic exploitation of reproductions has become a signature of M. Malraux, least inhibited exponent of drastic enlargement of details, startling manipulations of scale and juxtapositions. In the expressiveness and cogency with which selected views, details and comparisons are presented, Dr. Swarzenski's book recalls something of this effective visual form in comparison with which our ordinary art books suffer from academic pallor. But there similarities cease, for their differences in method and purpose are fundamental; it is, rather, in underlining a point of contrast that the French author comes to mind. M. Malraux's illustrations are imbedded into an overwhelming verbal apparatus. The reproductions become puppets and *Les Voix du silence*

recognizable promptings by their gifted manipulator. Dr. Swarzenski's is the humble discipline of a scholar and one who prefers to "listen." His book is so organized that we are enabled, even required, to do the same as we look through the plates. Without dunning commentary his illustrations communicate a substantial historical thesis, developed within a systematically determined artistic, technical, temporal, and geographical sphere.

These preliminary remarks seem necessary in drawing attention to the unusual importance of the pictures in this book. The astonishing proportion of pictures to text—under thirty pages of running text for over five hundred and fifty figures—could easily deceive a hasty observer. He might think of the usual picture book in which the text may or may not help our understanding of the illustrations, usually a new rehash of old material. Dr. Swarzenski is sublimely unconcerned with such or other superficial impressions and satisfied to call his main text simply an "Introduction." He has not even found it necessary to subdivide it in any way, even though there are some eight distinguishable sections which might justifiably have become that many chapters each as long as the entire present text. Following the Introduction are "Notes on the Plates" with all necessary descriptive and attributive data in one column and bibliography in another, facing the appropriate items. A series of indices cut across the content from every desirable direction: iconography, names, places, materials, techniques, and objects. The interweaving of text and illustrations is carried out in such a way that the plates collectively may be said to constitute the body of the book. They not only supply pictorial documentation, practically telling the story without words, they also amplify the main theses with extensive comparative references. In the plates we can find a copious "chapter" of pictures for about every other sentence of text. One extreme instance is found in a brief reference to the widespread influence of a system of drapery which, parenthetically, indicates about fifty plates for the reader's perusal in considering the point. The resulting study of mediaeval art from Carolingian to the end of Romanesque, written around the "Art of the Church Treasures," is of unequalled condensation. At the same time, given its sound and rich scholarship and straightforward manner of presentation, it is also a work of exceptional lucidity, enlightenment, and stimulation.

The monuments for this history are of luxury materials and craft, worked in ivory, crystal, gold, silver, bronze, and enamel; many of them embellished with pearls, precious and semiprecious stones. They also include the related art of manuscript illustrations and decoration. In addition to the manuscripts, the principal objects include reliquaries and shrines, chalices, patens, crosses and croziers, candlesticks, and aquamaniles. Where our histories have touched upon these objects and their arts, those efforts have been random and otherwise inadequate despite an ever-increasing awareness of their importance. Even general studies of mediaeval art have attempted little more than token

representation of the subject through samplings of a few inevitable pieces. Sometimes the smaller works are present merely as convenient substitutes where we lack large-scale examples to illustrate general developments. By and large there has been little apparent concern that such treatment, worse than unwittingly evasive, simply failed to account for these works to the same degree of historical responsibility expected in the case of the mural arts. Without a Swarzenski to collect and "process" the vast accumulation of objects and their scattered specialized bibliography, there was no visible prospect that this situation might soon be corrected. His book is the first to deal with these arts as a whole and gratifyingly fulfills a long-felt need. Even if not the discoverer of this neglected territory, he becomes the first to give us an intelligible map with trustworthy lines by which to read our bearings in relationship to the known landmarks.

Before discussing their historical development the author takes up some of the general problems in the background of the subject. There is, for instance, the initial difficulty epitomized in the foredoomed efforts to force a distinction between so-called "major" and "minor" arts. He also considers the related problem of the concept of monumentality as against the mere fact of size, and the peculiar significance of the materials employed as well as the cultural setting against which the church treasures must be studied. The estimation of the materials employed, above their plain worth as stuff, is illustrated on the levels of symbol, spiritual instrumentality, and craft. Among the pointed reminders cited are such evidence as Suger's praise of gems and gold for their capacity mystically to transport the beholder heavenward; and a nice inscription on the Shrine of Henry of Blois declaring *ars auro gemmisque prior*. As for the broad cultural milieu, the author shows how focal to that significance is the Church Treasure itself—"that curious and enigmatic invention of the mediaeval mind in which both the political and the spiritual ideals of the period are clearly mirrored and in which donors and patrons, secular and ecclesiastical lords alike, were able to combine in a lasting monument their artistic tastes with their religious devotion."

The title of the book implicitly acclaims these arts and we are shown how they provide the best materials available for explaining and following the formation and evolution of Romanesque style. In them, moreover, its artistic aims found their "purest expression." The geographical scope is limited to the regions of Lorraine, the Valleys of the Meuse, Lower and Middle Rhine, the Artois, Île de France, England, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. This coincides with the thesis that in northwestern Europe Romanesque solutions were not only achieved earlier than elsewhere but also were more profoundly understood and expressed. It was here that the impact of Reims and related Carolingian schools had its determining, catalytic, style-forming effects. Hence, a clear path is to be traced not only to the mature development of Romanesque but to the formative phase of Gothic. The author can only suggest briefly the reasons

why Italy, Spain, parts of Germany and Southern France were not similarly responsive to the "liberating" potential of Reims, turning preferably to works of the Ada school. Instead of receiving the newly revived antiquity of the most classical of the Carolingian schools, those areas persevered in their more venerable original heritage although, by then, it was a "tradition of the decaying Mediterranean art of Late Antiquity."

For the theme of Reims' continuity and change, the first three plates of the book provide a most appropriate pictorial overture, with the Utrecht Psalter and its three successive copies as the principal motifs. The celebrated masterpiece of Reims was copied at Canterbury early in the eleventh century, in a manuscript now preserved as Harley 603 in the British Museum. While this is a remarkable instance of sympathetic grasp of the Carolingian model, the changes made by the Anglo-Saxon artists, favoring hardening and abstraction of line and shape, already announce "the dawn of the Romanesque style." The latest copy of the series, that of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, shows how, by 1200, "a full knowledge of sculptural modeling by pictorial means" had been achieved and Gothic style attained.

Between the Carolingian beginnings and the Gothic terminus, the author follows each of the intervening stages of development, regional peculiarities and interactions, through hundreds of examples in the various media. He singles out the "change of stress from fluidity to solidity," originating in Lorraine, as a critical basis of distinction between Romanesque style and that of the ninth and tenth centuries. The clue for this observation derives from subtly discerned changes in metal and enamel techniques; from shimmering and translucent qualities of Carolingian and Ottonian to the opaque surfaces and "line-determined" forms in the eleventh century. This "metallic style" is demonstrated largely in the manuscript illustrations of Stavelot and Liège; thence it is traced to St. Omer, Arras, St. Amand, Marchiennes, Normandy, Chartres, and St. Denis. Even the "trembling lightness" of Anglo-Saxon style became subject to the continental "airless and frozen animation" about two decades before, rather than as a consequence of, the Conquest.

To the important role of Reims the author adds a second "style-forming force," that of the Byzantine tradition, whose rarefied classicism, subtly organic treatment of the human figure, formal and iconographic canons, all contributed significantly to the new Western modes. By the middle of the twelfth century, at its height, Byzantine influence had "created a truly international style." But Byzantium and Reims had already met in Lorraine late in the eleventh century, as witnessed in such outstanding works as the Stavelot Bible. Out of these sources was formed the first of the great individual personalities who were to shape the subsequent course of this history; the goldsmith, Roger of Helmarshausen. His works and those of his school afford our choice materials for following the essential stylistic process of the twelfth century through which was evolved a "gradual three-dimensional realization of

form through abstract design." In the course of his discussion of masters, works, and stylistic distinctions, the author provides some of the most interesting passages of the book in characterizing Romanesque style. He tells, for instance, how the firmly defining lines which isolate the forms can nevertheless relate and subject the entire picture surface to "a new, well-regulated system, a sort of groundplan design with many subdivisions," all "part and parcel of the whole." He points out that the forms are "reduced to their cubic elements by this principle of dividing the surface into firmly outlined geometrical shapes" with a resulting effect of mass and weight which can suggest the three-dimensional quality independent of natural appearance.

For the twelfth century, the focal points of origin and dissemination are to be found in Lorraine and in three individual masters. These artists, almost unnoticed in the general histories, emerge as masters of consequence on the broader horizons of mediaeval art and not merely within their particular crafts. Rainer of Huy, Godefroid de Claire, and Nicholas of Verdun partake of, and lead in, the most advanced trends of the century. Rainer's figures belong to the phase in which they are still composed of parts and layers additively related; by the middle of the century Godefroid and his followers had succeeded in fusing such elements into an organic unity. The mid-century style, called briefly the "system of folds with sculptural value," marks a shift from painting to metalworking as the dominant and most influential medium. No less significant than the purely formal side, and its effects in western Germany and the Channel region, is a new expressive potential which may be illustrated by referring to an outstanding work. Unlike earlier "portraits" which were necessarily conceived as impervious masks, the reliquary head of Pope Alexander (Brussels) of about 1146, possibly by Godefroid, is modeled as "a human head in which the physical structure of the face is integrated with its spiritual expression." The reader will immediately think of the remarkable parallel between this development in Stavelot and the contemporary events in the school of Chartres. For Chartres it has already been pointed out that nascent psychological content of the physiognomies of the West portals, coincided with renewed interest in psychology in the writings of the philosophers and theologians. Such is the momentum in this brilliant sphere that the style of Nicholas of Verdun, whose Klosterneuburg altarpiece is understandably called "the greatest enamel work ever done," precociously moves beyond this early threshold of Gothic, and brings the history to its close.

In a text so condensed, with scope so comprehensive, there must be places where the presentation may appear cryptic, even elliptical. When this appears to be the case, it is well to remember that the author's non-verbal method may be at work. This would impose an implicit charge upon the reader to exert himself to whatever extent his question might require, to find clarification of any stated argument. By this I do not mean that the author avoids the issue simply by sending readers

to the bibliography, although that recourse is by no means discouraged. Rather, the reasonable reader is credited with being able to see for himself, in the illustrations, whatever else the author might have to say beyond the stated words. One instance has already been mentioned, that of the diffusion of Godefroid's sculptural folds into Germany and the Channel area. For a single sentence in the text, there are forty-seven plates to show how and where this happened. Or, when reading of the influences from the Ottonian schools which bear upon the formation of the Stavelot-Liège style, one must examine some fifteen plates to judge whether and how the Ottonian examples might bear upon Mosan developments. At times, the points are barely stated. For instance, it is true that the author does emphasize the crucial bearing of Lorraine style and especially that of Nicholas of Verdun, upon the shaping of organic and sculptural qualities of Gothic. But he reproduces, without much ado, miniatures from the Psalter of Queen Ingebourg, the Album of Villard de Honnecourt, the Missal of Anchin, and various Lorraine bronzes; the works ranging from the beginning to about the middle of the thirteenth century. The plates, thus, point to the Lorraine connections of the Ingebourg Psalter and support the dating of about 1200 and the possibility of Anchin provenance. They illustrate the north European spread of this style and even its further Gothic development. For, the allusion to Villard de Honnecourt calls attention to the vitality of the tradition, still recognizable even as we approach the middle of the thirteenth century. In other words, the plates at this point "write" an epilogue to the text, which had concluded with the dawn of Gothic art. They carry forward the theme of Reims-Byzantium-Lorraine contributions to the formation of Romanesque beyond early Gothic even to the verge of High Gothic style. Of course Dr. Swarzenski would want us to study and interpret the visual materials which he puts before us, but we can sympathize with the reader who would have preferred to have the author's own statement for every case. Even a sentence of comment added, perhaps, to the notes on the plates, would have been of inestimable help at times, enabling the reader to see where his own interpretations put him in a position of agreement or difference from that of the author.

It would require no unusually perceptive reader to discover the author's real warmth for his subject. His winning extravagance over some particular works is so fresh as to disprove again our too-pat maxim about the dangers of overfamiliarity. Moreover, in the simple clarity of his statements he is never dogmatic in manner or intention. On the contrary, he seems ready to welcome discussion which his book is bound to stimulate. Of the points which such discussion might reconsider, I may mention only a few, particularly those which pertain to some of the more fundamental propositions. One deals with the alleged importance of Byzantine textiles for Romanesque style. The author claims that their abstract patterns, "with their recurring circles and other geometrical motifs, strictly subordinated to an ornamental design, played a decisive part in shaping

the architectonic structure of Romanesque art." Bearing as it does on nothing less than a profound essence of Romanesque compositional *stylistique*, this assertion by an acute connoisseur and scholar merits special attention. The only textile reproduced is that shown on the end papers, from the Codex Aureus of Echternach, an Ottonian painted simulation of Byzantine cloth. Obviously the author has not been able to illustrate everything that he might have wished to but, after all, the figured silks from Byzantium are familiar enough. They are rightly acknowledged special status in the West for they were among the rarest and most precious imports in Carolingian and later times. It may even be that single motifs were borrowed from the textiles for application in other media, such as the eagle capitals of Charlieu and Moissac of which Miss Joan Evans has written. But these are not the kind of thing to which Dr. Swarzenski refers. The general ordering of the motifs, geometrical and otherwise, seems to me to observe systems and principles which are only superficially, if at all, comparable with Romanesque. The motifs on the textiles are arranged according to simple and immediately intelligible rhythmic schemes of repetition, alternation, and heraldic confrontation. Even when alleviated by varied accentuation, their order is essentially static and alien to the unpredictable dynamics of Romanesque composition. These qualities of restlessness and subtle asymmetry, the compositional use of "contrasts, encroachments, and interruptions of form" are penetratingly seen and described by Professor Meyer Schapiro in his study of Moissac. The claim made for the textiles in the present book is not proven nor do I think that it would be possible to make a convincing case for them.

Dr. Swarzenski properly emphasizes the potential of Romanesque formal structure for welding together not only the figured elements but even the framework and inscriptions, all of which become integral with the whole representation. Here, however, the geographical limits of the book, while not absolutely hard and fast, are still sharp enough to cut off a significant segment of Ottonian painting in which some of the finest and earliest solutions of this aspect of mediaeval formal expression were achieved. Mainly in Regensburg, but also in Echternach, there was manifest an unusual degree of concern with new method for systematizing the total picture surface and regulating the subdivisions and compartments which were needed for complex thematic correlations. With a degree of success rarely to be matched in the schools of Western Germany, these miniaturists succeeded in creating intricate yet integral compositional fields to effect a new mode for the simultaneous reading of figures, scenes, frames, and inscriptions together with clear clues for their patterns of correlation. These Ottonian schools are excluded from the book on the grounds that they "remain more or less outside the general development." This may be true of the figure style but not of these larger aspects of their formal solutions. Some of the most brilliant Romanesque manuscript compositions, such as the Majesty of the Stavelot Bible, or the Job miniature in

the Floreffe Bible, seem hardly possible without taking these Ottonian works into account. Romanesque works could equal but rarely surpass, in virtuosity and subtlety, the formal organization of the Evangelist series in the "Gospel Book of Otto III" (Munich, lat. 4453), much less the miniatures in the Gospel Book of the Abbess Uota (Munich, lat. 13601).

Probably the most frustrating of all the tasks faced by the author must have been that of selecting and arranging the illustrations. In the end he has boldly resolved his problems in favor of a consistent dramatic effect with a resulting handsome presentation. By means of the daring enlargements of details, with successive views from a single object, they are brought to life in the plates, highlighting parts and qualities which we might otherwise never discover. The reader is thus privileged to share something of Dr. Swarzenski's intimate knowledge and even, sometimes, a sense of handling the object and being able to peer into some of its beautiful recesses. In numerous instances the decision to be unstinting of details must have entailed sacrificing views of the object as a whole. To a certain extent, then, frustration is passed on to the reader who, for innocent reasons, may not know the Golden Altar of Bâle, the Gloucester Candlestick, the Gross-Komburg Altar Frontal, and many other splendid works not shown entire. The reader may, of course, check items in the bibliography to find such reproductions. But even if that were just as simple as it sounds, many a reader will have his first knowledge of important works without the slightest idea of the appearance of the whole. For the problem of scale there is obviously no solution, since we cannot have these beautiful details while at the same time preserving a consistent scale relationship among them in this vast collection. Fortunately actual measurements are given in the Catalogue, although indications in inches, rather than meters, would have been more practical for an English-reading audience, even if less fine. With only rare exceptions the photographs are excellent. Among the many which are particularly remarkable are the details of the Gloucester Candlestick, the Lothair Crystal, and the St. Nicholas Crozier Head in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A few (figs. 282, 286, and 290) are well below par.

The bibliography, no less than the illustrations, represents the result of a formidable labor in collecting and sorting-out of far-flung studies. The material covered and the form in which it is given add considerably to the value of the book as an instrument both of immediate and lasting value. Since the format allows space for supplementary notes a few comments here may give some slight additional help to students. Because the Utrecht Psalter and its copies are of such unusual interest, the bibliographical entries under items 2-4 might also have included Dr. Dodwell's book on the *Canterbury School of Illumination*. Of course this book does appear in the bibliography but it turns up in a much later and lesser connection. Its relevance to the Psalter series is quite special, for no other book discusses

the style of the English copies so thoroughly, soundly, and clearly. With reference to Harley ms 647 of the British Museum, "the most classical of all Carolingian astronomical illustrations in the Reims manner" (ill. no. 3), there is now available the great work by Professor Fritz Saxl which actually appeared too late for mention by Dr. Swarzenski, although obviously well known to him. That work is the *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illustrated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages*, III, *Manuscripts in English Libraries*, published by the Warburg Institute, London, 1953, edited by me. The first chapter in the Introduction of this book contains the fundamental study of the history of the Harleian manuscript in relation to the English tradition. In completing this work I have added abundant illustrations by which one may observe the main steps in a sequence of direct copies of Harley 647. This series is the most important known parallel to the Utrecht Psalter history in English manuscript illustration. Other valuable additions are to be found in the collected papers on *L'Art mosan* edited by M. Pierre Francastel (Bibliothèque Générale de l'École des Hautes Etudes, vi^e section, Paris, Armand Colin, 1953). There one may see recent studies on some of the major works treated in *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, among them: H. Landais, on Godefroid de Huy; L. Reau, H. R. Hahnloser and O. Homburger, on the iconography and technique of Nicholas of Verdun's Klosterneuburg altarpiece; J. Stiennon, and K. H. Usener, on Mosan manuscripts in general and Liège in particular; M. Morelowski, on twelfth century Mosan art in Poland, and P. Francastel on the bronze door of Gnesen Cathedral. For the Carolingian "Bible of St. Paul" (pl. 58), long overdue for detailed study, three decent color photographs are given full-page reproductions in *Life* magazine for February 23, 1953.

I have noted a few of the errors which have slipped into the text but these may be easily corrected in the subsequent editions which his book deserves to reach. On page 28, the Werden Crucifix is described as being "life-size," although the significant fact, properly recorded in the catalogue note for plate 94, is that it is distinctly smaller. On page 16, the typographical error in a single letter makes for a real difference in meaning, for Suger's "anagogical manner" of ascent has there become "analogical." Another error, again relating to Suger but this time less seriously, is to be found in the reproduction of his Eagle vase, now in the Louvre. On the face of the dust jacket of the book it is printed in reverse even though correctly shown on plate 152. We must therefore suspect a mischievous designer who felt that the cover "looked better" with the eagle's head pointing the other way. Perhaps it does, except for the inscription around the neck.

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HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954. 2 vols.; pp. 635; 532 ill. \$20.00.

"But these grandfathers and great-grandfathers of ours, though they compassed sea and land to admire Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals, themselves produced deplorable buildings, and filled them with appropriate furniture and knick-knacks. In these respects the decay of taste between the period of the Regency and the period of the Prince Consort was astonishing. The most refined and educated classes were as bad as any: the monstrosities of architecture erected by order of the Dons of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges in the days of William Butterfield and Alfred Waterhouse give daily pain to posterity." Thus wrote G. M. Trevelyan, expressing the views on Victorian architecture generally held by "the most refined and educated classes" in England in the 1930's.¹ Since then things have changed somewhat. In 1949 Sir Kenneth Clark could even see a danger that the indiscriminating might come "to squeak with joy at any Victorian building sufficiently outside the canons of conventional good taste."² Yet it remains true that, as Professor Hitchcock puts it, "all Victorian buildings are in some sense on trial." And it remains true that the witnesses for the defense are not numerous. Since the war H. S. Goodhart-Rendel has published some of his Slade lectures, delivered at Oxford nearly twenty years ago, as *English Architecture since the Regency*.³ There has also been Reginald Turner's *Nineteenth Century Architecture in Britain*.⁴ But one would hesitate to call Mr. Turner as a witness for the defense: one of his reviewers was led to remark that if he wished to write about nineteenth century architecture he would do well to choose some architect whose work he could bear to look at. John Summerson has published articles on Pugin⁵ and on the London suburban villa,⁶ and his brilliant essay on Butterfield has been reprinted in *Heavenly Mansions*.⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner has given a series of four talks on Victorian architecture in the B.B.C. Third Programme,⁸ and has listed and commented upon hundreds of Victorian buildings in the *Buildings of England* guidebooks.⁹ Graham Law has published a valuable article on Alexander ("Greek") Thomson;¹⁰ Phoebe Stanton some things on Pugin¹¹ which make one hope that it may not be too long before we have her book on that strange genius; the present reviewer has done a little in the way of documenting the works of Barry.¹²

The list could be extended—notably by the inclusion of Professor Hitchcock's own articles—but it still would not be a long one. In fact it is certainly safe to say that Professor Hitchcock's new book at least doubles the amount of recent published writing on Victorian architecture in Britain. It would therefore be ensured a certain importance by quantitative considerations alone. As those who know Professor Hitchcock's other books would expect, its quality is such as to make those considerations secondary.

The subject of the book, be it noted, is not Victorian, but *Early Victorian* architecture. Professor Hitchcock, with good reason, is chary of defining the *termini* of the Early Victorian period too precisely, but suggests that the publication of Pugin's *Contrasts* in 1836 "as much as any other single event . . . marked the end of the Georgian Age" and that 1856, with the completion of the iron-fronted Jamaica Street warehouse in Glasgow on the one hand and the refusal to allow the name of architecture to the museum of Science and Art (the "Brompton Boilers") on the other, may be accepted as a *terminus ante quem* for practical purposes. Pugin, Barry, and Paxton were the great figures—how different from one another!—of the period; the fourteenth century English parish church, the sixteenth century Italian *palazzo*, and the neo-Tudor manor house were its most highly regarded models; of practicing architects it was Butterfield who showed the way forward to High Victorianism.

The architectural historian who turns his attention to the nineteenth century cannot but be awed, if not overwhelmed, by the sheer mass of the material that confronts him. It may be that the twenty years with which Professor Hitchcock is here concerned did not put up quite as many buildings as subsequent periods of the same length. Any slight mitigation of his task due to this circumstance is more than offset, however, by the peculiar nature of the Early Victorian period. Every period in the history of architecture is in some sense transitional; but if there can be degrees in the matter, the Early Victorian was surely more transitional than most. Although Professor Hitchcock maintains that "as a whole [it] has some sort of inner unity," he would agree, I think, that Early Victorian architecture is often more readily discussed in terms of what it is not—neither Late Georgian nor High Victorian—than in terms of positively Early Victorian characteristics. In certain fields, indeed, it is difficult to attach more than a purely chronological meaning to "Early Victorian."

1. *English Social History*, London, 1942, p. 524.

2. *The Gothic Revival*, 2nd ed., London, 1950, p. 7.

3. London, 1953.

4. London, 1951.

5. "Pugin at Ramsgate," *Architectural Review*, CIII, 1948, pp. 163-166.

6. "The London Suburban Villa," *ibid.*, CIV, 1948, pp. 63-72.

7. London, 1949, pp. 159-176.

8. "How to Judge Victorian Architecture," *The Listener*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 91-92; "Victorian Thought on Architecture," *ibid.*, pp. 137-139; "Victorian Churches and Public Buildings," *ibid.*, pp. 177-179; "The Late Victorians and William Morris,"

ibid., pp. 217-219.

9. 11 vols. to date, London and Baltimore, 1951-1954.

10. "Greek Thomson," *Architectural Review*, CIV, 1954, pp. 307-316.

11. E.g., "Some Comments on the Life and Works of A. W. N. Pugin," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, LX, 1952, pp. 47-54; "Pugin: Principles of Design versus Revivalism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIII, 1954, no. 3, pp. 20-25.

12. E.g., *The Architecture of Sir Charles Barry in Manchester and Neighbourhood*, Manchester, 1950; "The Travelers' Club," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, LIX, 1952, pp. 417-419.

An example is housing, of which Professor Hitchcock writes: "A serious difficulty in attempting to deal fairly with Victorian housing lies in the fact that much of it seems but an epilogue—if a mammoth and labyrinthine one—to a story begun in the 17th century and already at its climax by Late Georgian times." (The generalization may be supported by his verdict on the particular instance of Henry Roberts' model houses in Streatham Street, Bloomsbury: "This is, in fine, one of the most distinguished works of the Early Victorian period despite its almost total lack of recognizably Victorian character.") And on top of all this there is the consideration that although Early Victorian architects may be seen as traveling in the same general direction, their routes were not the same or even strictly parallel. "Victorian architectural standards were dichotomous. On the one side was an ecclesiastical or high-aesthetic wing, on the other a secular (not to say worldly) wing, the greater prestige residing with the former."

There is, of course, an easy way out: it is always open to the writer on the nineteenth century to select one aspect of its multifarious productivity and insist on its significance at the expense of the rest. An obvious choice would be those developments which seem to point forward most surely to the architecture of the twentieth century—the "constituent facts" of Dr. Giedion. Professor Hitchcock has scorned to take this way out. "Too much special pleading of various sorts," he writes, "... has obscured the richness and vitality of the total Victorian story by concentrating attention on only one or another of its subplots." So besides chapters on Pugin and Butterfield he gives us chapters on early railway stations and the Crystal Palace; besides chapters on Barry and royal and state patronage, others on commercial street architecture and housing. In a total of seventeen chapters he presents a view of the period as comprehensive as anyone could ask; and his publishers have supported him with a truly magnificent allowance of illustrations.

Professor Hitchcock's discoveries in the way of forgotten or neglected buildings and architects are numerous, and he is often very good on them. It is curious—and from the point of view of an Englishman rather shaming—to reflect that J. B. Bunning's London Coal Exchange is now the subject of a fuller and more detailed critical analysis than has ever been accorded to Blenheim Palace. Yet in the long run the accepted leaders provide Professor Hitchcock with the best opportunities for the exercise of his scholarship and critical acumen, and he does not fail to take them. What he has to say on the merits and historical significance of C. R. Cockerell's work is specially good: while paying proper tribute to Cockerell's lovely Music Room in St. George's Hall at Liverpool and to his skill elsewhere in combining Greek, Roman, and Renaissance motifs to produce an individual Baroque (which it was essential that no contemporary critic should recognize as Baroque), he remarks that he was "at once more cranky and more pedantic" than Barry, and tactfully but firmly places him among the ancestors of

the Neo-Georgian of the reign of George V. As for Barry, he emerges with the stature that was incontrovertibly his—though I would say that Professor Hitchcock scarcely makes enough of his great gifts as a planner, which however have perhaps been sufficiently emphasized by Mr. Goodhart-Rendel. (And surely Cliveden and Shrubland, the one a rebuilding on old foundations and the other a remodeling of a house built by James Paine and altered by Gandy-Deering, are unsatisfactory examples to adduce as evidence of a return to centripetal planning in the 1840's.) Barry's shade, and everyone with a feeling for architectural rhetoric, should be grateful for the reinstatement of the "Anglo-Italian" Highclere Castle, which the thirties thought quite a joke, as "an Early Victorian triumph." (Two marginal notes here: the Georgian Highclere was *not* quadrangular, and a drawing exists which shows the Barry thought of leaving the red brick of the walls exposed.) Professor Hitchcock's views on Butterfield's buildings differ in certain respects from Mr. Summerson's: he does not find deliberate ugliness in them and makes the interesting point that "where Butterfield is apparently most crankily original . . . he is likely to be best armed with some sort of forgotten precedent." In tracing Butterfield's "constructive coloration" to German rather than Italian prototypes he is surely correct.

Professor Hitchcock would be the last to deny that there remain plenty of questions about Early Victorian architecture still to be answered. For instance, how did the increasing body of building legislation affect the architecture of the period? Professor Hitchcock mentions changes in the London building laws, but does not go into the matter. Above all, what were the causes of "the deterioration of architecture after the Georgian Age" that Professor Hitchcock, skilled counsel for the defense that he is, is perfectly ready to admit? Professor Hitchcock names the ignorance of the rising middle classes as the factor to which it is often attributed, and suggests that "the restrictions of snobbery and the connotational superstitions of the educated upper classes . . . were more to blame." Another cause was surely the shortage of adequately trained architects in the face of the unprecedented demand for architects' services: the development and structure of the architectural profession in the nineteenth century is another subject which awaits detailed study. Even if such things are not strictly speaking in the domain of the art historian, they are likely to become the concern of historians of Victorian architecture. But in the opinion of the present reviewer Professor Hitchcock, in choosing to concentrate on the monuments themselves, has done what was most needed at this juncture. Every student of nineteenth century architecture will hope for a sequel in which he examines the productions of the heyday of "Character" and "Reality," the High Victorian period.

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WOLFGANG SCHÖNE, *Über das Licht in der Malerei*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1954. Pp. 304; 18 pls. DM 24.00.

One of the strangest lacunae in the field of art history is in publications dealing with color. Color, the very essence of painting, proves an evasive material for the writer. While we have a vocabulary for colors, we have none that can do justice to the *modifications* of color brought about by light or by intensification or reduction of the paint medium; and we have no fixed terms that can correctly describe the relationship of color to glazes and ground or the changes of color due to the proximity of other colors. And art history has absorbed little of the literature of psychologists and chemists in the field of color.

The more important, therefore, is the publication of a book entirely dedicated to the phenomenon of light in painting. The title sounds rather generalized and reminds one of the headings of classical philosophical treatises, but nobody should be misled by it. The text is a highly particularized one which derives strictly from, and contributes greatly to, the history of art. It is my impression that Schöne's book, by his method as well as by the results achieved through this method, will become an integral part of future research in the history of painting. It provides new tools, and the author can therefore rank with men who by new methods have opened up fresh horizons. Such providers of tools were Winckelmann (introducing the point of view of evolution), Morelli (phenomenal comparisons; connoisseurship), Riegl (psychological approach to form phenomena; intention of the art work), Woelfflin (*Grundbegriffe*; basic concepts of form), Warburg-Panofsky (symbolic iconography).

If this book is to come to its fullest fruition, however, an able translation into English will be required, since the original text is eminently difficult. This difficulty is due partially to the speculative nature of the author's approach (of which more later on), and partially to the necessity of inventing a new vocabulary for phenomena hitherto not described methodically and therefore not distinguished linguistically. Would it not be possible for the College Art Association to become a clearinghouse for the translation of essential texts such as this book?

While it is true that this work represents a new departure, it nevertheless can be related to earlier studies. And the author always pays generous tribute to those from whom he has learned and he quotes amply from their writings. It was Schöne's teacher, Hans Jantzen (to whom the book is dedicated on the occa-

sion of his seventieth birthday), who penetrated far beyond a merely descriptive color-analysis. In an important essay¹ Jantzen differentiated between *Eigenwert* (self-value) and *Darstellungswert* (reference value) of color, thus providing a point of departure for Schöne's discrimination between the various basic types of light. What Jantzen meant by *Eigenwert* and *Darstellungswert* depends, of course, on the context in which color is presented. The most important question is whether color exists *per se* or is determined by a source of illumination from without.

Here a sentence by Focillon may help us: "A painted space varies according to whether the light is outside of the painting or within it. In other words, is a work of art conceived as an object within the universe, lighted as other objects are by the light of the day, or as a universe with its own, inner light, constructed according to certain rules?"² The relation to Jantzen's statement is evident. Next to Jantzen one might mention as essential previous discussions the original and penetrating book by Theodor Hetzer,³ and the various contributions by Erich v. d. Bercken.⁴ Besides, Schöne has used a number of apparently outstanding German doctoral dissertations which shall be listed here since they do not appear in ordinary bibliographies.⁵

These dissertations have contributed to an historical color analysis which should be of profit to future research. To another dissertation by Harry Mänz, Schöne recurrently pays the highest tribute.⁶ To judge from the ample quotations, this dissertation, written by an artist-historian who was killed during the last war, is an exceptionally able contribution to the study of Italian colorism. However, besides these works there exist a number of psychological investigations⁷ which the author assesses in a special appendix.

Before we can discuss the arrangement of the book, it seems advisable to find English equivalents for the new terminology of its author. Here are my suggestions for the translation of the main terms:

<i>Eigenlicht</i>	= self-light (light incarnate in color)
<i>Standortlicht</i>	= positional light (the light under which the object appears to our eyes)
<i>Beleuchtungslicht</i>	= projected light (identical with Leonardo's <i>lume</i> as differentiated from <i>luce</i> in the <i>Trattato della pittura</i>)
<i>Leuchtlicht</i>	= source of light (<i>Lichtquelle</i> — <i>luce</i>)
<i>Bildlicht</i>	= light emanating from the picture

1. "Über Prinzipien der Farbgebung in der Malerei" (1913), reprinted in *Über den gotischen Kirchenraum und andere Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1951.

2. *The Life of Forms in Art*, New Haven, 1942, p. 28.

3. *Titian: Geschichte seiner Farbe*, 1948.

4. Especially in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. v, 1928, pp. 311-326.

5. Hildegard Dannenberg, *Die farbige Behandlung des Tafelbildes in der altdeutschen Malerei: 1340-1460*, Frankfurt, 1926 (published 1929); Ernst Strauss, *Untersuchungen zum*

Kolorit der spätgotischen deutschen Malerei (1460-1510), Munich, 1927 (published 1928); Herbert Siebenhüner, *Über den Kolorismus der Frührenaissance*, Leipzig, 1935.

6. Harry Mänz, *Die Farbgebung in der italienischen Malerei des Protobarock und Manierismus*, Munich, 1933.

7. Of these, the one to which Schöne feels most indebted is the late David Katz's, *Der Aufbau der Farbwelt*, Leipzig, 1930 (English trans., 1935). In addition, Schöne has used to advantage G. Johannes von Allesch, *Die Aesthetische Erscheinungsweise der Farben*, Berlin, 1925.

After a sixteen page introduction in which various concepts are extracted from analyses of an illumination in the Perikope-book of Henry II and a painting by Signorelli, the first chapter begins with a discussion of the *Bildlicht* of the high Middle Ages. Book illumination, mosaics, and stained glass windows take precedence over mural and easel paintings. The second chapter deals with the *Bildlicht* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, discussing the relationship of light, shadow, and color, and continuing an argument on the relationship of positional light to light from the picture. Tapestry and the graphic arts appear as additional fields of pictorial expression. The third chapter discusses the *Bildlicht* from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, introducing the problems of the source of light and of projected light. The *Leuchtlcht* is broken up into its components: natural sources of light, artificial sources of light, and transcendental source of light (*sakrales Licht*). The fourth chapter deals with *Bildlicht* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contains a number of pages on the relationship of light and color from the mediaeval period to contemporary times. This historical arrangement is followed by an appendix of fifty closely printed pages in which the author discusses "the results of the investigations of experimental psychology in respect to the modes of appearance of color and light." The inclusion of the investigations of psychologists by a historian of art is in itself a rare event and especially gratifying in a work dealing with phenomena which border on the intangible. The first chapter of the appendix is followed by one in which the author applies these results to the history of Western painting, re-examining the historical analysis in relation to the psychological data of our color perception. In a third chapter, the problems of positional light are discussed, and this leads automatically to the last chapter, one of great practical interest, called "museum problems," which deals with varnish and glass coverings in their relationship to color and with the question of white and colored walls for paintings. The text is then followed by thirty pages of appendices consisting of bibliography, artists' names, index of art works, and an admirably executed index of concepts (*Begriffe*) and objects (*Sachen-Realia*), which in itself makes historical color analysis appear as a new science. Thus—to give just one example—the concept Space is broken up into twelve smaller components and supplemented by the following headings: *Raumende* (ending of space); *Raumfarbe* (space color); *Raumlicht* (space light); *Raumlichtnebel* (spacelight vapor); *Raumverkuerzung* (foreshortening of space); *Raumwerte* (space values).

The historical analysis begins by differentiating between the *Eigenlicht* typical of the mediaeval period and the *Beleuchtungslicht* typical of the modern epoch since the Renaissance. The fact emerges that "light" here is used in a more comprehensive sense than "illumination." On the contrary, color itself can be

used in such way as to develop its potentialities as a giver of light. In Ottonian book illumination, this self-light derives from the lightness of color, from the density of color-matter, and from the antinaturalistic choice of colors. These factors again connect with the gold ground and with use of gold as color. The radiation of the gold appears as a phenomenon of self-light, freed from imprisonment in objects. In this combination of the self-light of color with the *Eigenglanz* (splendor) of gold rests the *Bildlicht* of Ottonian painting. Such a combination would appear as the aesthetic-historical equivalent of what Katz has described as *Oberflächenfarbe* (color appearing on objects) combined with *Flächenfarbe* or *freie Farbe* (color without objects).

This analysis is followed by a discussion of the relationship of the modeling of figures to the self-light and comes to the following formulation: "It [the modeling] connects the world of the extra-mundane self-light, of which the painting ground distinctly is the carrier, with the realm of the terrestrial shadow-light, the light of our surroundings."⁸ This quotation may illustrate the precision of observation, the sense for historical localization of the observed phenomenon, and the use of a specialized vocabulary to describe a complex situation. It is this combination which makes the reading of the book so difficult and so rewarding.

There follows an analysis of positional light based on an examination of the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi. The results as to the use of colored glass windows since the twelfth century and the absence of any glass protection previously, coincide with Louis Grodecki's research.⁹ The chapter on stained glass windows goes beyond H. Sedlmayr (*Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*) and D. Frey (*Kunstwissenschaftliche Grundfragen*) in an analysis at once precise and differentiated. Stained glass windows appear as the climactic situation of self-light. While stained glass is factually transparent, actually it appears as a source of light, i.e., the images appear as if created by their own light.

The next paragraph, on mosaics in their relationship to positional light, contains an archaeologically interesting reconstruction of the type of wooden window screens used in Ravenna. The reconstructive drawings are based on fragments found in Sant' Apollinare in Classe. Such a reconstruction appears as the basis for a discussion of the types of light in which the mosaics originally were perceived. Again Schöne's research rises from minute actual observation to a discussion of the religious meaning of this light, for which he chooses the term *Offenbarungslicht* (revelatory light). The author then enters into a discussion of mediaeval literature on light symbolism. He comes to a negative conclusion as to the value of early Christian and mediaeval writings for our problem and sums up in the following sentence: "Mediaeval speculation in expounding its theory of beauty has not taken into consideration the artistic

8. P. 27. This and all the following translations are by the reviewer.

9. As presented in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1949, 2, pp. 5-24.

creations of its time" (p. 64). "Light" in speculative theology does not parallel the artistic phenomenon but is used in a dialectical and metaphysical sense. However, the text quoted from Grosseteste (1175-1253)¹⁰ seems to me a profound argument for the relation of self-light ("lux incorporata in ipso terminato") to the source of light ("lux in medio perspicuo deferente") in terms of light mysticism. His definition of color, "color est lux in extremitate perspicui in corpore terminato," is a striking illustration of the mediaeval point of view. Closely connected with it is the absence of shadow coming from an earthly source of light, and accordingly mediaeval light is raised "to the potentiality of transcendental light" (p. 70). Here as in many other instances one would be inclined to say "can be raised." In his observation of the transformation of the self-light (*Beleuchtungslicht*) he comes to the conclusion that the boundary between old and new is to be found around 1300. This would very well coincide with observations made by others in the field of the rendition of space (the first illusionistic elements in Italian art) and of iconography (the appearance of the "image of grace" as a symbol of individualized devotion).

Directed light makes its appearance with the awareness of the entry of light through windows. Such an awareness is already reflected in Cennini's treatise on painting (p. 88). The general status of painting in the fourteenth century is very well described in the passus, "Assimilation of self-light to day light" (p. 101).

The new situation of the Renaissance in regard to color, light, and shadow, is completely recorded in Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura*. Therefore the author's discussion is based on an analysis of Leonardo's statements, from which he proceeds to the following systematic clarification: three types of "directed light" emerge in the modern epoch: "bundled beams of light" (Caravaggio), diffused rays of light (*chiaroscuro* painting in the manner of Vermeer) and light appearing from a source in the picture itself (Claude Lorrain, Rembrandt). Penetrating analyses are dedicated to Caravaggio, De la Tour, Claude Lorrain and Rembrandt. While in Caravaggio the source of light has become as concrete as possible, with De la Tour the increase of reflex light diminishes the active power of the source of light and with Rembrandt "the picture itself is becoming the fountainhead for the source of light" (p. 56).

The seventeenth century is the one in which not only each type is raised to the height of its possibilities but the one in which the greatest degree of combination of the various modes of appearance is achieved. In a most brilliant description of the light of the eighteenth century in painting, the transcendental quality of the source of light, so typical for the previous century, is revealed as absorbed into a "greater closeness to sunlight gold" and "moonlight and daylight silver" (p. 161). "The natural source of light, which mostly is tuned to veiled sunlight nearly has omnipotence" (p. 162). Light is no

longer an indicator of something else but begins to appear for its own sake.

The nineteenth century sees the disappearance of "indifferent" light and with it the disappearance of transcendental light. Only natural and artificial light remain. Transcendental light has become absorbed into the "artistic" phenomenon *per se*. Schöne follows these conclusions with a discussion of the central figures of German Romanticism, Friedrich and Runge. The latter, truly creative with his ideas on color and light but captive technically and stylistically, would have appeared less isolated if seen in connection with the English light-mystics and poets such as Blake (illustrations for Thornton's *Vergil*), Samuel Palmer, Blake's romanticizing disciple, and Turner, the seeker of mood through light. Very fascinating is the analysis of the situation as it develops with Van Gogh and Gauguin. Light and shadow become more and more a matter of color and the dualism between light and darkness disappears. Color turns into color-matter and as such begins to hover over (or in front of) the objects. The size of the color patches or strokes becomes related to the size of the picture at large and a new compositional quality of color emerges. Thus a reversal has taken place: color is not any longer a function of light but light becomes a function of color.

This much simplified report of the content of the main part of the book may explain how light, the most intangible element of painting, is made an instrument for measuring the most universal definition of painting—its relationship to visibility. The method by which this is achieved represents in itself a contribution distinctly new in art history. It is hardly conceivable without the influence of the existentialist philosophy of Heidegger. His approach to the phenomenal world has created a highly mannered way of expression which can be observed in recent German publications (such as a number of contributions in the *Festschrift* for Emil Preetorius). In Schöne more than the vocabulary is employed. As in the novels of Camus and Sartre (which philosophically are related to Heidegger), his method combines extreme exactitude in the description of phenomena (a sort of microscopic realism) with a complete analysis of the sensory and mental conditions under which these phenomena are brought about and perceived. Thus an integral organism is established in which a continuous flow carries us from the object as it is to the object as it appears and finally to the object as it is perceived. The analysis embraces the physiological data as well as the psychological ones but leads (as Sartre does not) to a positive assertion of meaning and sense in history. Light is a supreme symbol of such meaningfulness because it symbolizes the entire range of human awareness from conditioned illumination (*Naturlicht*) to transcendental light (*sakrales Licht*). Yet in spite of the underlying speculative tendencies Schöne's book is written with a faithful, even loving, adherence to the visible world, with a complete mastery of its material, with modesty, naturalness, and even

10. On p. 69 n. 3.

occasionally with a sense of humor. In short, it is the vibrant expression of a personality endowed with keen sensibility and the fire of genuine thinking. In modifying Goethe's sentence "*Die Farben sind Taten und Leiden des Lichts*" ("Colors are actions and sufferings of light"; quoted on p. 208), one could say that here "the actions and reactions (sufferings) of light" have become the protagonists of a history of art which hitherto had been unwritten. To the objection that the presentation seems occasionally very difficult, approaching the evasively speculative, one might answer with a simple sentence by the author, "True, the phenomena here concerned

with are exceedingly sublime and subtle. Yet the work of art and our eye are not less subtly organized" (p. 206).

The receptive reader of *Über das Licht in der Malerei* will not only receive a fresh and enormously enriching outlook on the history of art, but even more important, he will henceforth look at paintings with enlightened eyes. In this sense the book is one of the most important "guides to seeing" that have appeared in our time.

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ADDENDUM

In THE ART BULLETIN for September 1955, p. 154, in the sentence beginning l. 6 from the bottom of the text, add the material in brackets here following, so as to make the sentence read as follows: Above this was an equally numerous series, each with [two half-figures of saints, three of which still remain. The whole terminated in seven points, of the shape of Gothic gables, each adorned with] the half-figure of a saint.

NOTE: CORPUS VITREARUM MEDII AEVI

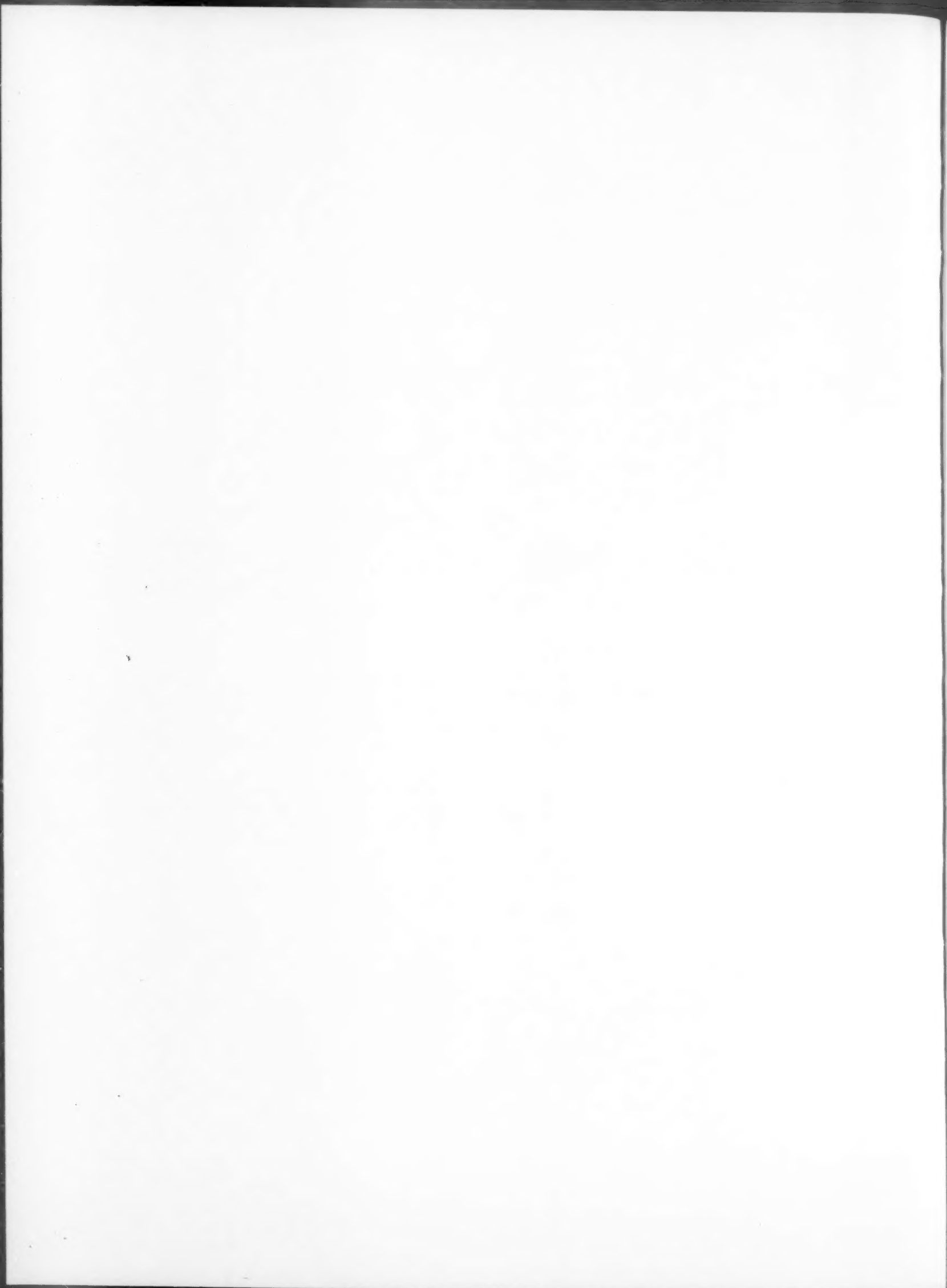
Work leading to the American portion of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* has been begun. One of the first objectives is to make as complete an inventory as possible of all stained glass windows and fragments from public and private collections in America. The *Corpus* is to include stained glass up to ca. 1480. Any information about the present location of such glass in public or private collections, or about the origins and dating of pieces should be sent to Miss Jane Hayward, History of Art Department, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

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- HAFTMANN, WERNER, *The Mind and Work of Paul Klee*, New York, Frederick Praeger, 1955. Pp. 213; 32 pls. \$5.00.
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